

LIBERIA.

A republic founded by black men, reared by black men, maintained by black men, and which holds out to our hope the brightest prospects.—HENRY CLAY.

BULLETIN No. 16.

FEBRUARY, 1900.

ISSUED BY THE

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

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WASHINGTON, D. C.

COLONIZATION BUILDING, 450 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE.



John A. Roberts

Vice-President of Liberia.

LIBERIA.

BULLETIN No. 16.

FEBRUARY, 1900.

THE EIGHTY-THIRD ANNUAL REPORT OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

Death, the pale reaper, has continued to gather his rich harvests from the fields of the American Colonization Society during the past year. One of the most highly esteemed members of the Executive Committee, Dr. William W. Godding, was called from his earthly labors, and his associates placed upon their record the following tribute to his memory :

“ Suddenly to all of us, and to most of us without any warning, comes the sad tidings of the demise of our late associate, Dr. William W. Godding, who died on the 6th day of May, 1899. He became a member of the American Colonization Society in 1886, and was appointed a member of its Executive Committee, on which he served continuously until the date of his death. He brought to the discharge of his duties a hearty sympathy with the objects of the society, broad intelligence, sound judgment, and a punctilious attention to all the duties required of him. Borne down and overworked by his ever-increasing duties as the Superintendent of the United States Government Hospital for the Insane, nevertheless he was rarely absent from a meeting of this Executive Committee, and when prevented from attending was careful to write a note stating the cause of his absence. He was ever ready to serve on subcommittees charged with special duties, and always performed the work assigned to him with the highest intelligence and fidelity. Any office held by him was a trust of the most sacred obligation, and he could hold it on no other terms.

“ We shall sadly miss his counsels and labors in our official work, but far more sadly shall we miss the delightful companionship of our beloved brother. As an associate, so courteous and genial was he, so considerate of the views and feelings of

others, that he bound all his co-workers to him by the warmest and strongest ties of love and friendship.

“The lives filled out, as was his, with the highest possible effort are few. He appeared to realize fully the solemn injunction of the preacher: ‘Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might.’”

The Rev. Robert Ryland, D. D., the oldest Vice-President of this Society, deceased at Bristol, Virginia, April 21, 1899, at the ripe old age of ninety-four years. For many years he had the distinction of being the oldest graduate of the Columbian University of Washington, D. C., having been graduated in the college class of 1826; received the degree of Master of Arts in 1831, and that of Doctor of Divinity in 1860. He was President of the Virginia Baptist Seminary from 1830 to 1844. He was also the founder and the first president of Richmond College, Virginia, in which capacity he served from 1844 to 1866. He was a Vice-President of this Society from 1851 to the date of his death.

The Society has also been called to sincerely mourn the loss of Mr. Arthur M. Burton, who most zealously and ably served this Society as a delegate from one of its auxiliaries, the Pennsylvania Colonization Society, of which he became a member in 1860. He was also a Vice-President of this Society from the date of his first election to that office, in 1888.

He was born in the State of Delaware in 1829, and died in Pennsylvania in 1899, in the seventy-first year of his age. He was a well known and highly esteemed lawyer in Philadelphia, the city of his residence; was largely connected with and very active in many of its leading religious and charitable institutions, and at the time of his decease was president of an important civic organization in the city, known as the Law and Order Society.

He was never married, and he devoted a large and sympathetic heart, guided by the most earnest religious convictions, and a life of incessant labor to the welfare of his fellow-men.

Always present and most welcome at our annual meetings, he was one of the most judicious and safe counsellors and active workers.

His associates in this Society will ever retain the kindest recollections of his personality, and the record of the most

honorable and useful place he filled will be preserved in its archives.

And last, we sorrowfully record today the death of our long time and most highly esteemed fellow-member, Mr. George W. S. Hall, of Maryland, who departed this life at Baltimore, October 19, 1899, in the seventy-second year of his age.

His father, Dr. James Hall, was for many years one of the most prominent members of the Maryland State Colonization Society, and under its auspices in 1834 purchased the site for a colony in the region of Cape Palmas, which was then named Maryland, and after its annexation to Liberia in 1857 became Maryland county in Liberia. Dr. James Hall was the founder and first governor of Maryland, in Liberia.

The son, whose loss we now lament, succeeded his father as an active member of the Maryland State Colonization Society, and was its secretary up to the date of his decease.

As a delegate from the Auxiliary Society of the State of Maryland, he for many years attended our annual meetings and took an active part in the proceedings. He twice visited Liberia and resided there some six years altogether. He had a personal knowledge of its people, their environment and conditions, not possessed by any other member of this Society, and his practical counsels were of the greatest value.

A man of the highest integrity, sound judgment, thoroughly sincere and devoted to the objects for which this Society stands, of broad charity, and marked courtesy toward others, his memory will ever be tenderly cherished by all his associates.

BUREAU OF INFORMATION.

The duties of the Secretary's office at present are largely in the line of giving information to numerous inquiring parties, both in this country and Liberia. This correspondence requires daily attention and extensive and accurate knowledge of the subjects in question.

Two Bulletins—No. 14, containing 88 pages and a map of Liberia, and No. 15, containing 96 pages—have been edited, published, and distributed during the past year.

In the former was published the Eighty-second Annual Report of the Society, which contained quite a complete résumé of the history of Liberia from the date of the inception of the

enterprise to the present time. This report met with great favor, and the demand for it was unusual. The Liberians were especially interested in this brief but accurate outline of the history of their country, and it was called for to be used as the basis for instruction in schools.

It is very largely through the correspondence and publications of this Society that any reliable information relative to Liberia is obtained and disseminated in this country. There are no cable connections with her coast, not a solitary steamer, or even sailing vessel, from the United States now visits her ports, and all of her commercial intercourse is with European countries. Hence her complete isolation from this country, so far as the most usual channels of communication are concerned, will be readily seen.

EMIGRATION.

During the past year the Society has provided a free passage for emigrants to Liberia as follows:

Ferdinand Marcellus Allen, aged 21 years, printer, and his wife, Ruby Estella Allen, aged 22 years, from Little Rock, Arkansas, January 18, 1899.

Walter Francis Hawkins, aged 27 years, preacher and teacher, and his wife, Elizabeth Caroline Hawkins, aged 31 years, teacher, from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, July 15, 1899.

Mr. Stevens, our agent in Liberia, has reported from time to time the arrival of emigrants from this country, sometimes in parties of a dozen or more, so that it may be safely estimated that from fifty to one hundred emigrants have gone from this country to Liberia during the year that has just elapsed, and have paid their own way. As we stated in our last annual report, the number of this class of emigrants appears to be gradually increasing. With its present limited resources, the Society can assist only a few emigrants of exceptional merit and desirability.

EDUCATION.

The Hall Free School at Harper, Cape Palmas, under the supervision of a local board of trustees and with Mr. Samuel J. Dossen as teacher, is reported to have been efficient during the past year. The whole number of pupils enrolled was 119, of whom 21 were born of native African or heathen parents.

The average attendance for the year was 75. These pupils were graded in six classes, with corresponding studies ranging from the alphabet to algebra and geometry, a very large part of them being occupied with the lower, rudimentary studies. Under the authority of this Society, about \$200 was expended in re-covering the roof of the school building and in other necessary repairs.

Graham School, No. 1, at Greenville, Sinoe county; Graham School, No. 2, at Royesville, Montserrado county, and Graham School, No. 3, at Brewerville, Montserrado county, have continued in regular operation throughout the year. This Society assists in the payment of the salaries of the teachers of these schools upon the following conditions: The Liberians are to provide acceptable buildings and furniture; the schools are to be subject to the general supervision of our agent in Liberia; and payments are to be made only upon the receipt by this Society of reports of the schools approved by our agent.

The highest aim that any assistance to Liberia can have is to help her to help herself, and it will be readily apparent that our educational assistance is on this line.

With the same end in view, an arrangement was made for the sale of the best American school text-books and appliances through our agent in Liberia at a price not exceeding the wholesale cost in this country, thereby enabling many parents to equip their children properly for school without being subjected to exorbitant expense or dependent upon the charity of missionary societies for the miscellaneous supplies at their disposal. The sales reported by Mr. Stevens have been gratifying, and we hope they may be largely increased in the future.

The "Theodore Lewis Mason, M. D., Scholarship" supported by this Society in Gammon Theological Seminary, Atlanta, Georgia, was awarded for the year 1899 to Mr. E. R. Gravelly. The Rev. W. P. Thirkield, D. D., president of the seminary, speaks of him as follows:

"The young minister chosen by the unanimous consent of the faculty as the recipient of the 'Theodore Lewis Mason, M. D., Scholarship' is Mr. E. R. Gravelly. He is a graduate of Philander Smith College, and has done excellently in our work. He has taken Africa as the field of his work.

"We have much satisfaction in the fact that two of the recipients of the scholarship are now at work in Liberia."

The public schools of Liberia have lost no ground during the past year; the Episcopal mission schools have maintained their well-known excellence; the Methodist mission schools have made decided progress in enlarged capacity and increased efficiency, and Ricks Institute, a private industrial school under Baptist auspices, but receiving no assistance from missionary societies abroad, has not only sustained itself, but made highly creditable progress.

OUTLOOK IN LIBERIA.

Although there have been newspaper reports from time to time that Liberia was prepared to surrender her sovereignty to the United States or to Great Britain in return for a guaranty of protection by either of those governments, yet, so far as we are reliably informed, there is no intention or disposition on the part of that government or people to surrender their independence, and certainly no official step has ever been taken in that direction. These reports are probably newspaper surmises based upon the general course of events on the continent of Africa, in which the native tribes and smaller political divisions are fast being appropriated by the great European powers.

President Coleman, who has been reëlected by the largest majority ever given to a president of Liberia and inaugurated for a second term during the present month, appears to deservedly have the confidence of the people in his wise and efficient administration of the executive department of the national government.

There are some indications of progress that are gratifying to the friends of the little republic. For a while there was no newspaper or other publication regularly issued in the country. During the past year, however, four publications have been regularly issued: *The Recorder*, and *The New Africa* under the auspices of Bishop Hartzell and the Methodist Episcopal Church Mission, at Monrovia, the capital; *The Baptist Monitor*, at Ricks Institute, Montserrado county, and *The Cape Palmas Reporter*, a quarterly magazine, at Cape Palmas. These publications, all but one of which are issued entirely independent of any foreign assistance, pecuniary or otherwise, indicate enterprise and ability highly creditable to the country and very encouraging to its friends.

In these publications we find interesting discussions of questions of practical interest to the people and calculated to bring about a better state of affairs. For instance, as is well known, a superior species of coffee grows wild in Liberia, and a few years ago, when coffee brought from 16 to 20 cents a pound, the Liberians engaged largely in its cultivation, even to the neglect of other valuable products native to the soil. The rapid increase in the growing of coffee in other parts of Africa and in South America soon led to an overproduction of this staple of commerce and a decline in prices to seven or eight cents a pound. Meanwhile the Liberians had almost wholly neglected the cultivation of other articles required for home consumption and for these had become dependent upon importation. The producing of even so important a staple of food as rice, always entering very largely into the diet of the people, and which grows wild in Liberia and by cultivation yields a superior quality in great abundance, was neglected and most of the rice used was imported.

The Liberians appear to have seen the folly of placing all their eggs in one basket, and are now turning their attention to other profitable agricultural industries, for which their country offers the most favorable inducements.

In disseminating valuable information upon these subjects, the new publications in the country can render good service.

Another cheering event of the year has been the reported readjustment and initial payment on account of the debt of the Government contracted in England more than a quarter of a century ago by President Roye, who was summarily impeached and deposed for his criminal conduct in this transaction, and shortly after lost his life by drowning while attempting to escape in a boat from his prison in Monrovia.

It should be noted here that during the entire period of twenty-seven presidential terms of two years each he was the only incumbent of the office whose record for honest purpose has not been creditable.

From this loan, nominally of about \$500,000, Liberia actually realized not more than \$125,000, and she was not in condition at the time to justify the making of any loan at all. President Roberts, in his message to the Legislature of Liberia, dated

December 9, 1872, made the following statements in regard to this English loan :

“ The act authorizing the loan provides, 1st, for the borrowing of not more than \$500,000, at a rate of interest not exceeding seven per cent. per annum, and that the lender should be allowed to deduct three years' interest thereon ; 2d, that not less than \$100,000 of said loan should be applied to the payment of the existing public debt ; 3d, that not less than \$100,000 should be deposited in the Treasury of the Republic as a basis upon which should be issued a paper currency, denominated treasury notes ; and, 4th, that the remainder of said loan should be deposited in some safe banking institution, as a fund to be drawn upon in case of emergency by special act of the legislature.

“ The President thought proper to take upon himself the responsibility of appointing commissioners and vesting them with powers wholly unauthorized by law. And said commissioners did negotiate in London, August, 1871, a 7 per cent. loan of £100,000 sterling at 30 per cent. below par and three years' interest deducted, leaving a balance of £49,000 paid into bank to the credit of the commissioners. Then followed a system of charges, speculations, and frauds unparalleled, I presume, in any public loan transaction of modern times. No sooner was it announced in Liberia that the loan had been secured than President Roye, before a single dollar had been paid into the Treasury of the Republic for any of the purposes specified in the loan act, and before the legislature had either accepted the loan or taken any action in relation thereto, commenced to draw drafts against it for account of himself and others ; and also directed Mr. David Chinery, who seems to have been the managing commissioner, to invest £10,000 of said loan in the purchase of merchandise, as alleged, for the account of Government, and all this without the slightest shadow of legislative authority and greatly damaging to the interest of the Republic.

“ Mr. Chinery did ship to Liberia merchandise invoiced at £14,146 3s. 6d., or the larger portion of it, including transportation, shipping charges, freight, insurance, &c., most of the articles, however, largely in excess of their market value, many of them greatly inferior in quality, and some almost, and others entirely, useless in Liberia.

“ Of the £100,000 for which the country was pledged it is very

doubtful that more than £25,000 will be realized by Government."

For more than a quarter of a century this debt has cast upon Liberia the blighting shadow of defalcation or repudiation, and it is gratifying to learn that the Government, even at this late day, has recognized and begun to liquidate its legal obligations to its English creditors, although the debt was contracted by such a fraudulent agency and on such usurious terms that little was realized from the loan.

WHAT LIBERIA OFFERS TO THE EMIGRANT.

The territory of Liberia embraces what is generally conceded to be the most eligible part of the entire west coast of Africa, having a frontage of about 350 miles on the Atlantic ocean, between the parallel of $4^{\circ} 30'$ and $8^{\circ} 30'$ north latitude, and extending interiorward toward the Niger river a distance of about 200 miles. It thus has a total area of about 70,000 square miles, or it is about 3,000 square miles larger than the six New England States of this country.

As in all other tropical countries, so in Liberia, the year is classified into two seasons, named "dry" and "rainy." It must not be understood by these terms that there is no rain during the "dry season" and no sunshine during the "rainy season." These names simply indicate predominant characteristics of the climate during certain parts of the year, but every month has its sunshine and its rain. The "dry season" is generally considered as commencing about the middle of November and ending the middle of May following, when the "rainy season" commences and extends to about the middle of November following. The extremes of temperature as indicated by the thermometer are much less than they are in this country, and are reported to be from 65° to 90° . The early part of the "dry season" has usually been regarded as a more favorable time for emigrating from this country to Liberia.

In reference to other environment affecting the personal comfort of the inhabitant of Liberia, Prof. O. F. Cook, a very competent scientist of the United States, who spent a considerable portion of five years, 1892 to 1897, in exploring and investigating that country, says:

"In Liberia mosquitoes, flies, and snakes are much less abun-

dant than in eastern North America. While many accounts of Liberia have been printed, few of them give a fair idea of what one may expect to experience in the way of personal comfort or annoyance from the indigenous plants and animals. Even friends of Liberia frequently refer to that country as though it were teeming with all manner of disagreeable things with which the inhabitants must do battle continually. There are, of course, annoyances, and vigilance is necessary, as everywhere else; but the conditions are by no means as bad as generally inferred, and are distinctly superior to those of most tropical and many temperate countries. As far as insects causing personal discomfort are concerned, Liberia is distinctly preferable to the United States in summer. One can go into the forest and remain as long as he pleases with no fear of mosquitoes, gnats, or flies."

The present population of Liberia is estimated at about 20,000 civilized Negroes, largely of American origin, and 1,000,000 natives, who have been more or less favorably affected by contact with their civilized brethren for the last three-quarters of a century. As the present population of the New England States is about 5,000,000, it will readily be seen that there is an abundance of spare room yet in Liberia awaiting the advent of the enterprising emigrant.

Beginning at the northwest boundary, its principal rivers are the Manna, Cape Mount, Half Cape Mount, St. Paul's, Montserado, Junk, St. Johns, Cestos, Sinoe, and Cavalla on the southeast boundary, all of which empty into the Atlantic ocean. As is well known, the continent of Africa has around most of its border a narrow rim of low and marshy ground, and then quite suddenly rises into the high plateaus that characterize its interior. The high plateau formation of this continent gives it a mean altitude above the level of the ocean of more than twice that of the continent of Europe, and this feature largely and favorably modifies the climate of the former. The rivers in Liberia are navigable only a distance of from 15 to 20 miles before rapids and falls are encountered which interrupt continuous navigation from their mouths, although they are often navigable for long distances above these obstructions. The country is well supplied with water by rivers with their numerous tributaries and by cool and clear springs, abounding everywhere.

Liberia is not a country of arid plains, burning sands, or rocky, inaccessible mountain peaks, but everywhere is available for cultivation, except the narrow strip along the coast, and even there are found promontories and elevations admirably well adapted for settlements, such as Cape Mount, Half Cape Mount, Monrovia, Grand Bassa, Sinoe, and Cape Palmas.

As "far as the eye can reach from the highest points of land in the vicinity of the ocean the whole country presents the appearance of a deep, unbroken forest, with hilltop rising above hilltop toward the vast interior." These forests, consisting of African oak, hickory, poplar, mahogany, rosewood, mulberry, and mangrove, furnish very valuable timber, well suited for building houses, boats or ships, cabinet-work, and all the other various operations in carpentry. The palm tree, of which there are two or three varieties, is found everywhere, yielding its oil, useful for so many purposes, its palm wine, and its fibers for making hats, baskets, and other articles. The camwood and other most valuable dyewoods are also found in abundance and have been exported in large quantities.

Of the grains, Indian corn or maize grows very well in Liberia, and rice by easy cultivation gives nowhere in the world a richer return for the labor bestowed upon it.

Among the esculent roots that are grown in great perfection there are the sweet potato, yam, and cassada. Of vegetables there are produced in profusion and with little labor the choicest qualities of lima beans and several other varieties, peas, cabbages, tomatoes, cucumbers, pumpkins, squashes, beets, carrots, radishes, and a good variety of melons.

Nor has nature been less bountiful in her gift of delicious fruits, which include the orange, lemon, lime, pineapple, guava, banana, mango, cocoanut, tamarind, pomegranate, cacao, and many others. In no other part of the world does the orange tree thrive better, and most of these fruits grow wild in the forests, but are greatly improved by cultivation.

The principal domesticated animals are beeves, sheep, goats, swine, geese, turkeys, ducks, and hens. The forests abound in game for the hunter, and the adjoining seas and the rivers swarm with excellent varieties of food fishes.

Although there are common reports of most valuable mineral deposits in Liberia—gold, silver, iron, etc.—these reports have not yet been verified by scientific investigation. Iron and coal

are said to have been found in considerable quantities on or near the surface of the earth.

The productions, which have been or may be made articles of commerce profitable for export, are coffee, cotton, sugar, rice, ginger, pepper, kola nuts, ground nuts, indigo, arrowroot, India rubber, dye-woods, and palm oil.

All reports of intelligent observers, extending through a long series of years, agree substantially upon the favorable representations of the country which we have given above, and the question is naturally asked, Why has there not been greater progress since its first settlement by American Negroes, seventy-eight years ago?

In answer to this question the familiar lines of good old Bishop Heber readily suggest themselves :

“ Though every prospect pleases
And only man is vile.”

There has been commendable, although very slow, progress in the part of Africa now known as Liberia since Captain Stockton and Dr. Ayres made the first purchase of a tract of territory there, including Cape Montserrado, in 1822.

At that time the entire territory was an unbroken wilderness, wild from nature's hand, inhabited by naked tribes of Negro savages, utterly destitute of even the faintest traces of Christianity or civilization, and whose only article of commerce was their own flesh and blood.

As to the present condition of Liberia, I quote from Professor Cook, to whom I have before alluded :

“ There are, however, two other comparisons which I wish to institute as affording a second view of the whole matter. The first is for the purpose of estimating Liberia's position in the series of African colonies of European powers. The English colonies are without doubt the best governed and most prosperous on the West Coast. Military strength has kept the native populations quiet at least within a certain radius of the more important posts, and the result has been the growth of several large trading centers, such as Freetown, Accra, Cape Coast Castle, and Lagos. The apparent prosperity of such places is much greater than appears at any point in Liberia ; but when one comes to look for civilization expressed in land under cultivation, comfortable houses, family life, and enlightened public opinion.

Liberia, with all her deplorable weakness and retarded development, is so far ahead of any other part of tropical Africa that more particular comparison is quite unnecessary. I am not comparing Monrovia with the towns mentioned, but the agricultural productive communities of Liberia with those of the European colonies. From all accounts it will be entirely safe to say that in no colony is there a tithe of the civilization to be found in Liberia, the European population being in both cases excepted. These facts, together with the generally admitted natural advantages of Liberia, indicate that there is no other point which offers readier access or promises greater results for philanthropic effort in tropical Africa.

“The second comparison to be drawn is between these same agricultural districts of Liberia and those of the Southern United States. Here, again, there is no uncertainty. A careful examination of a typical or somewhat superior southern community brought me to the surprised realization that the average Liberian citizen is, from his standpoint, entirely justified in his belief in his success and his resulting self-satisfaction. Many Liberian coffee-planters have placed themselves in a financial and social position equaling that of their former masters in the South, and some settlements have, as a whole, succeeded in all probability far beyond any southern Negro community of equal size. In the town referred to, with a population of about 2,000, two-thirds black, there was only one Negro whose material prosperity would stand comparison with the first fifty heads of families in any Liberian farming community of the same size, and in the more strictly rural district surrounding this Alabama town the whole population, white and black together, would fare scarcely better. In a drive of several miles in the country I saw no white farmer’s house which would compare with any belonging to Liberian planters in the St. Paul’s River region. The difference was so striking that careful compilations and laborious estimates were entirely unnecessary. There could not be the slightest doubt that colonists in Liberia had far surpassed in material prosperity the agricultural part of their race in this country. Of city populations we have in Liberia practically none, while in America the comparatively rare cases of individual wealth achieved by Negroes is more than overbalanced by the degradation and criminality of the slum population so rapidly accumulating.”

Before criticising the Liberians too harshly for not having realized the earlier sanguine expectations of their friends, we should reflect that it is now conceded that the development of a race requires a much longer period of time than was supposed by the founders of this Society. If we look at our own country we find that the progress of the Negro race since its emancipation, aided as it has been by the personal contact and intelligent and consecrated services of thousands of the best men and women and hundreds of millions of dollars of the white race, falls far below the expectations of its friends at the close of the civil war in 1865.

In his recent testimony before the Congressional Industrial Commission, President Frissell, of the famous Hampton colored school, quoted his predecessor, General Armstrong, as expressing the opinion that, taking the Negro population as a whole in the United States since the close of the civil war, one-third of it had retrograded, one-third had remained stationary, and one-third had progressed. We can at least make as favorable a statement of the average progress of the Liberians.

That a large majority of the leading colored people of the United States at present look askance upon any scheme of colonization or even emigration is very evident, and it is equally patent that these leaders of the race are not pure Negroes and in many of them the blood and inherited predilections of the white race largely predominate. The motto emblazoned upon their banner is, "Let down your buckets where you are." Excellent as we may concede this motto to be in general, nevertheless we venture to assert that it is not of universal application nor a panacea for all the ills that constitute a most vexed and serious race problem in this country.

That this recently promulgated motto for the race does not admit of universal application has been clearly demonstrated in the past history of the world. Such was not the divine direction to the Children of Israel in the midst of their Egyptian surroundings, and such was not the motto of the brave and hardy men who left the material wealth and comforts of the old world to found in an American wilderness a nation which now stands foremost in intelligence, wealth, power, and all that goes to make the most advanced Christian civilization.

HON. J. J. ROSS.

The Hon. J. J. Ross, late Vice-President of the Republic of Liberia, was born in Augusta, Georgia, United States of America, in 1841. His mother died in his infancy, leaving him to be cared for by his grandmother, who, taking her grandson with her, emigrated to Liberia in 1849, and settled at Greenville, Sinoe county.

For the next six years he regularly attended the common school of Greenville. The exigencies of war then caused his removal to Grand Bassa, where he was employed and trained in agricultural and other industries; but within a year tidings of the sickness of his grandmother caused his return to Greenville.

Upon her death, which occurred shortly before he arrived at Greenville, the probate court bound him as an apprentice to C. L. Parsons, Esq., afterward the Chief Justice of the Republic. While an apprentice he attended first a Presbyterian common school and afterward the Alexander High School. He also was sent into the bush country of the distant interior to carry on trade with the Kroos, where he became familiar with their customs and learned to speak their language fluently.

The term of his apprenticeship expired in 1861, and after serving for a short period as a volunteer in the force sent to suppress an insurrection of the natives in the vicinity of Cape Palmas, he studied law under the Hon. Z. B. Roberts, now Chief Justice of the Republic, and was admitted to the bar in 1864.

In 1867 he was elected a member of the House of Representatives of the Legislature of Liberia, and in 1868 was appointed county attorney for Sinoe county.

In 1869 he was appointed judge of the court of quarter sessions and common pleas of Sinoe county and became *ex officio* Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the Republic.

In 1875 he was appointed superintendent of Sinoe county, in 1878 he was elected a member of the Senate of the Legislature of Liberia, and in 1879 was appointed aide-de-camp on President Gardner's military staff.

In 1880 he visited England and the United States, in 1882 was appointed Attorney General of the Republic, and in 1888

was reëlected a member of the Senate, and he was three times chosen president *pro tem.* of the Senate.

In 1895 President Cheeseman made him, for long and meritorious services to the country, Knight Commander of the Liberian Humane Order of African Redemption.

In 1896 he was one of the special commissioners appointed by the Government to adjust serious difficulties with the Kroo tribe, and they successfully executed their mission.

In 1897 he was elected Vice-President of the Republic, and at the recent election, held in May last, was reëlected unanimously, both parties giving him their suffrages—an unprecedented event in Liberian politics.

In his later life Mr. Ross was engaged in mercantile pursuits as far as his professional and public duties would permit. In his religious relations he was a Presbyterian and an office-bearer in that church. He died at his residence in Greenville, Sinoe county, Liberia, October 24, 1899.

Mr. Ross furnishes an interesting example of what a Negro of good character, fair ability, limited education, and industry may accomplish in Liberia.

J. ORMOND WILSON.

LIBERIAN COLONIZATION.

The ways of Divine Providence offer a profound problem for human contemplation. All the forces of man and nature are in active operation, and in the vast chain of contingency which is ever stretching onward, freighted with the destiny of nations, surprising results are the consequences of what to mortal apprehension would seem to be the least liable to produce them.

For example, the odious African slave trade, which has so long been the scandal of nominal Christendom, gave occasion, among many other consequences, to Liberian colonization and the Liberian Republic. It is very probable that if the slave trade had never existed there would now have been no Colonization Society and no African Republic. What might otherwise have transpired in the opening of the "Dark Continent" and in bringing it to its present condition before the great powers that are now struggling for imperial ascendancy in that quarter

of the globe it may not be necessary here to inquire, but that something is due to the movements occurring in the early part of our closing century and in our own country in relation to the condition and prospects of the Negro race may justly be assumed. Even before the achievement of our independence and the adoption of our Federal Constitution, and while the cruel slave trade was in full blast, the idea of sending back to Africa a colony of Negroes was first suggested by Rev. Samuel Hopkins and Rev. Ezra Styles, of Newport, Rhode Island, and an effort was made with this object in view, which, however, was suspended by the war of the Revolution. It was renewed in 1784 by Dr. Hopkins, who appealed to the philanthropic public for funds in the hope of sending a company of free blacks to join the English colony at Sierra Leone, which had been established in 1787 by Granville Sharp, William Wilberforce, and other British philanthropists as a home for destitute Negroes from all parts of the world. At that time it formed one of the West African settlements, $8^{\circ} 30'$ north and $13^{\circ} 68'$ east and running from the mouth of the Sherbro river about 70 miles down the coast. In 1807 it was turned over to the British government, in whose control it has since continued. Dr. Hopkins failed in his project to send from this country any body of colonists to the English settlement, and in 1793 he published an appeal to the country, urging that the plan of colonization should be adopted by the several States and by the Federal Government, and he continued this agitation till his death, in 1803.

Meanwhile the subject had occupied other minds, and influences were at work in other quarters with a similar object. In December, 1800, the legislature of Virginia in secret session passed the following resolution:

“That the governor, James Monroe, be requested to correspond with the President of the United States (then Thomas Jefferson) on the subject of purchasing lands without the limit of this State whither persons obnoxious to the laws or dangerous to the peace of society might be removed.”

Monroe in communicating this action to Jefferson stated that it had been taken in consequence of a possible Negro insurrection about Richmond. This correspondence continued till 1805, but without result.

About the year 1810 a few students of Andover Seminary, of whom Samuel J. Mills was the leader, formed a "Society of Inquiry Respecting Missions." Mills made a tour of inquiry, especially in the southwestern part of the country, and returned with the conviction, as he expressed it, "We must save the Negroes or the Negroes will ruin us." The matter was extensively discussed. That there should be a location to which they might be conveyed was the general opinion. The question was, Where? It was a final conclusion that the location must be in Africa.

Mills subsequently went to New Jersey and soon interested the Presbyterian ministers of that State in his idea of saving the Negroes. One of the most eminent was the Rev. Dr. Robert Finley, who was revolving the subject in his own mind, whether independently of the labor of Mills does not appear. But while he hesitated, in 1815 Paul Cuffee, an Afro-Indian born at New Bedford, Mass., rising from poverty and obscurity to command money and a ship of his own, at his own cost of \$4,000, conveyed thirty persons of color to Sierra Leone and returned the next year to die. But he had shown that Negro colonization from this country to Africa was feasible.

In the autumn of 1816 Dr. Finley called a public meeting at Princeton, N. J., to consider the subject, but the effort was virtually a failure. Not disheartened, when Congress met in December he came to Washington to consult with Elias B. Caldwell, his brother-in-law and a prominent man in the First Presbyterian Church, and whose interest in African colonization had already been awakened; for entirely unaware of Dr. Finley's efforts to form a colonization society, Mr. Charles Fenton Mercer, then a member of the Virginia legislature, and coming thus to a knowledge of the action of that body ten years before, being in Washington, had confided to two friends his intention at the next meeting of the legislature of reviving the subject and trying to secure favorable action, his idea being that colonization should be carried on by the State governments under the protection of the National Government. The two friends with whom he took counsel were Francis Scott Key, who promised to use his influence in Maryland in favor of it, and his old Princeton schoolmate, Mr. Caldwell, who engaged to interest in its favor his Presbyterian friends in New Jersey. Accordingly General

Mercer's proposed resolution passed the House of Delegates by a vote of 132 to 14, and on December 23 it passed the Senate with but one dissenting vote.

This was the beginning of a noble movement in the South, which, if it had been fully carried out, might have changed the whole course of events and solved many of the race problems which perplex us today. General Mercer adhered to this conviction through life, though he subsequently rendered most invaluable service to the cause of colonization, as the records of the time disclose.

The action of the Virginia legislature under the lead of General Mercer soon became known to all the friends of African colonization, and undoubtedly had a most encouraging influence on the men who had most at heart this noble philanthropic movement. Dr. Finley, on consultation with his brother-in-law, Mr. Caldwell, renewed his efforts to arrange for a public meeting and to secure a large attendance. The object was generally approved, but there seemed to be a general disposition for each man to leave the work to his neighbor. This untoward feature was soon observed by the Hon. Charles Marsh, a member of Congress from Vermont, a man of wonderful skill and energy, and he resolved that this general apathy and indifference must be overcome. The result appeared in a short time, in the first public meeting held at the Capitol on the evening of December 21, 1816, and in the attendance of a number of prominent men from a majority of the slave States of the Union. The Hon. Henry Clay was called to the chair, and Dr. Finley, who had been earnestly engaged in arranging for the meeting, began to see some light on the dark cloud which had hitherto obscured his labors. Mr. Caldwell, who was entirely familiar with the views of both Dr. Finley and General Mercer, presented a strong argument for the formation of a colonization society, and was ably supported by John Randolph, of Roanoke, and Robert Wright, of Maryland. A committee was appointed to draft a constitution and report to an adjourned meeting to be held December 28th, in the Hall of the House of Representatives. At this meeting the constitution was adopted and fifty men of influence and power became the original members of the Society by signing this document. As they are now all gone, it is

deemed here advisable to recall to the present generation their honored names, as follows :

H. Clay.	John Lee.
E. B. Caldwell.	Richard Bland Lee.
Tho. Dougherty.	D. Murray.
Stephen B. Balch.	Robert Finley.
Jno. Chalmers, Jr.	B. Allison.
Thos. Patterson.	B. L. Lear.
John Randolph, of Roanoke.	W. Jones.
Rob't H. Goldsborough.	J. Mason.
William Thornton.	Mord. Booth.
George Clarke,	J. S. Shaaf.
James Laurie.	Geo. Peter.
J. I. Stull.	John Tayloe.
Dan'l Webster.	Overton Carr.
J. C. Herbert.	P. H. Wendover.
Wm. Simmons.	F. S. Key.
E. Forman.	Charles Marsh.
Ferd'no Fairfax.	David M. Forest.
V. Maxsy.	John Wiley.
Jno. Loockerman.	Nathan Lufborough.
Jno. Woodside.	William Meade.
William Dudley Digges.	William H. Wilmer.
Thomas Carberry.	George Travers.
Samuel J. Mills.	Edm. I. Lee.
Geo. A. Carroll.	John P. Todd.
W. G. D. Worthington.	Bushrod Washington.

On January 1, 1817, in accordance with the provision of the constitution, a meeting was held for the election of officers, and the organization was completed by the selection of Judge Bushrod Washington, of Virginia, as its first president, with twelve vice-presidents from nine States, including Georgia, Kentucky, and Massachusetts, and one from the District of Columbia. A board of directors was likewise provided for, and also an executive committee, with a permanent secretary and treasurer, the headquarters to be in Washington, District of Columbia. The special object of the Society was set forth in its constitution in the following brief terms :

“To aid the colonization of Africa by voluntary colored emigrants from the United States, and to promote there the extension of Christianity and civilization.”

But the Society was not incorporated till 1831, by an act of the legislature of Maryland, passed in December of that year. In 1837, twenty years after the organization of the Society, the Maryland legislature substituted for its former act of incorporation a much more formal and detailed act of incorporation, designed to cover all possible phases of the work and mission of the Society which time and experience had then brought to light. Under this second act of incorporation, dated March 22, 1837, the Society has proceeded until now.

The succeeding Presidents of the Society have been: Charles Carroll of Carrollton, 1830-'32; James Monroe, 1833-'36; Henry Clay, 1836-'52; John H. B. Latrobe, 1853-'91; Henry C. Potter, 1892-'99, and Julius C. Grammer, 1899-.

The Society came into existence to the exclusion of the other plan of African colonization by the States and the General Government, and possibly in this regard more happy results might have been secured if the life-long conviction of General Mercer could have been realized. Who can tell? Its life began on the threshold of the country's agitation over the "Missouri Compromise," a seed which forty years later fruited in the most terrible civil war of modern times, and when American slavery was strongly intrenched, and when signs of an Abolition party were already beginning to appear. So it was that from the very beginning it had to encounter the suspicions, innuendoes, and accusations of extremists on all sides; but it aroused a deep interest among the generous and philanthropic people of all sections. Auxiliary and State societies were formed in Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia to coöperate with the central organization at Washington.

The first object of attention was to secure a foothold somewhere on the African coast, and for this purpose Samuel J. Mills and Ebenezer Burgess were commissioned by the Society to visit Africa and report the prospect. The money for this expedition was borrowed and repaid from funds raised by General Mercer and Bishop William Meade, of Virginia. They left home in November, 1817, and their report was received in the

summer of 1818, establishing the practicability of the object, although on the home voyage Mills died and was buried at sea. The African coast from Sierra Leone southward to the San Pedro river was open to the Society by the purchase of any desired quantity of land from the native chiefs of that region. At that time money was an important consideration, and the Society had in its treasury less than \$3,000, and its receipts were under \$100 per month.

Small, indeed, were these beginnings for an enterprise so gigantic. The subsequent years showed a wider and more substantial interest, and for the information of the present-day readers on Liberian subjects we have inserted here only a partial list of donations and donors, carefully prepared by the daughter of Mr. William Coppinger, so long the faithful Secretary of the Society.

DONATIONS OF \$5,000 AND ABOVE.

1819.	Appropriation by the United States Congress "for the safe-keeping, support, and removal beyond the limits of the United States of recaptured Africans"	\$100,000 00
1832.	Bequest of Judge Workman, New Orleans, La.	10,000 00
1835.	Legacy of Joseph Burr, Manchester, Vt. (with interest).....	11,101 61
	Payment from the estate of the late William H. Ireland, New Orleans, La., in notes at one, two, and three years, for sale of property.....	6,166 66
1840.	Received from Henry Ault, Washington, D. C., real estate valued at.....	6,624 00
1845.	Legacy of Daniel Waldo, Worcester, Mass.	10,000 00
	Legacy of Elizabeth Waldo, Worcester, Mass. ...	7,000 00
	Legacy of Oliver Smith, Hatfield, Mass.....	10,000 00
1848.	Legacy of Sarah Waldo, Worcester, Mass.	6,000 00
1849.	Legacy of William Short, Philadelphia, Pa.	10,000 00
1850.	Legacy of Augustus Graham, Brooklyn, N. Y.	10,000 00
1856-'57.	Donation from David Hunt, Woodlawn, Miss.	45,000 00
	Donation from John Stevens, Talbot county, Md., for a ship for the American Colonization Society.	36,000 00
1857.	Legacy of Jonathan Coit, New London, Conn.	5,000 00
	Legacy of Dr. Collins, Williamsburg, Mass.	7,000 00
1858.	Donation from Hon. Alex. Anderson, New Albany, Indiana, of 10,000 acres of land in the State of Georgia.	

1858.	Estate of John McDonogh, New Orleans, La.	\$83,672 91
1859-'62.	Received from United States Government to defray the expenses of supporting, etc., in Liberia the 200 recaptives of the <i>Echo</i> , sent there in the United States steamer <i>Niagara</i> , and transportation from Key West, Fla., to Liberia, and support of 1,138 recaptured Africans in the ships <i>Castillian</i> , <i>South Shore</i> , and <i>Star of the Union</i>	122,760 00
1861.	Legacy of George W. Burnett, Cincinnati, Ohio. . . .	7,994 00
1867.	Legacy of Eben Fairchild, Bridgeport, Conn.	38,158 86
1869.	Received from Robert Arthington, Leeds, England, to be "laid out in sending persons to Liberia in whom it is unmistakably evident that they have the highest welfare of Africa at heart," ten Bank of England notes for £100 each, sold for.	6,606 14
1869 and 1873. }	Donation from C. and H. Rose, New York, N. Y. .	10,000 00
1872.	Bequest of William Bostwick, New Haven, Conn. . .	12,333 33
1873.	Bequest of William Gray, New York, N. Y.	9,465 24
1876.	Legacy of Mrs. Sarah A. Hobart, Freeport, Maine. .	5,000 00
1884.	Bequest of Jesse Meharry, Shawnee Mound, Ind. . .	5,000 00
1886-'87.	Legacy of Miss Sarah Burr, New York, N. Y. (less expenses).	53,230 73

It will be noticed that no sum in the above list is less than \$5,000. The number of auxiliary societies, State, county, and local, at one time exceeded 300, and the list of contributors in less amounts than \$5,000, while equally praiseworthy, would unnecessarily lengthen this article, but would doubtless clearly show the growing interest of many benevolent people in different sections of the country.

But in the outset what was to be done? A large territory somewhere along the western coast of Africa was to be honorably, justly, and peacefully acquired from the native tribes of that section of the continent for the new home of American colonists. For such a purpose the Society was utterly impecunious. A crisis was reached where, in the overruling movements of a Divine Providence, which brings good out of evil, a new and striking example was to be furnished. It had been demonstrated, both before and after the war of Independence, and even down to the civil war, in the sixth decade of the century, that of all the regions of the earth, of which several had been proposed in our western hemisphere, none proved available but the single

region in Africa, the natural home of the black man and at the very point where the cruel slave trade was most actively pursued.

The Federal Constitution provided for the cessation of this trade after the year 1808, and in pursuance of this article the Congress passed an act in March, 1807, forbidding the importation of slaves into this country thereafter and exposing slave vessels on the high seas to capture wherever found, and providing other penalties which made the traffic dangerous in the extreme. In the same year an act of the British Parliament also prohibited the nefarious business. But, in spite of all this, desperate men still continued the disgraceful commerce in defiance of law and for the sake of sordid gain. In January, 1819, General Mercer presented the facts to Congress, and in the March following a bill was passed and signed by the then President, but former Governor, James Monroe, providing that all slaves illegally imported or taken at sea should be held in the custody of the United States Government until they could be returned to their native shores, and that the President should appoint agents or an agent on the coast of Africa to receive them, and for this purpose an appropriation of \$100,000 was made. Meanwhile the number of recaptured slaves on the hands of the Government was increasing, and it was this necessity of properly disposing of them that drew the attention of the President more closely to the work of the Society and gave it an impetus and importance which otherwise it might have been long in attaining.

He determined to send a ship to the coast of Africa with two agents and the necessary men and means to procure a place and prepare for the future. This was precisely in the line of the Society's object, and so the efforts of both were united in the establishment of one settlement, where their agents should reside and to which emigrants and recaptured Africans could be sent. The Government appointed as its agent the Rev. Samuel Bacon, who was already in the service of the Society, and with whom Mr. John P. Bankson was afterward associated. The sole agent of the Society was Dr. Samuel A. Crozer. The bark *Elizabeth*, of 300 tons, was chartered by the Government to transport such free blacks as the Society might recommend to be required for the purposes of the agency. Dr. Crozer took out goods and stores for the purchase of land and the use of the

emigrants. For the expenses of the expedition the Government gave Mr. Bacon more than \$30,000, and sent with him a ship of war to coöperate. So provided, the *Elizabeth* sailed from New York, February 6, 1820, with 88 emigrants from the States of Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New York.

Passing over the following two years of trial and hardship, we find the purchase of Cape Montserrado by Captain Stockton and Dr. Ayers and its occupation by the surviving emigrants on the 25th of April, 1822. The discouragements and perils of that expedition form one of the most tragic passages in human history, while the fortitude, courage, and heroism of Elijah Johnson and his associates afford a brilliant example of human purpose and endurance. In the midst of their extreme peril from the ferocious savages who sought their lives, to a proffer of aid from a British man-of-war on condition that he would allow them a few feet of ground on which to hoist a British flag, Johnson instantly replied, "We want no flagstaff erected here. 'Twill cost more to ever get it down again than it will to fight the natives." Where was there ever a more admirable reply?

In the next fifteen years additions of territory were being made to the settlement by the purchase of other lands through the independent action of some of the State-societies—first that of Maryland buying and settling Cape Palmas, then of New York, then of Pennsylvania, then of the two united to establish settlements on the St. John's river. Divisions of land were also set apart for the colonists of the Kentucky, Mississippi, and Louisiana societies, which, however, were never organized; so that in the course of time the settlements, taken together and receiving the appropriate title of Liberia, commanded a coast line of 600 miles or more, while extending inland, with a somewhat uncertain boundary, some 200 miles, and its chief town and capital was called Monrovia in honor of President Monroe, who had taken so lively an interest in the great enterprise, and had thus in coöperation with the Colonization Society prepared a place for the recaptured Africans that were increasing on his hands.

It was certainly a matter of prime convenience that the Government was able to avail itself of the good offices of the Society in disposing of a body of Negroes forced upon it in the prem-

ises, for so it returned to Africa through the agency of the Society no less than 5,722 recaptured Negroes.

For the first thirty years the management of affairs in Liberia was entirely in the hands of the American Colonization Society in coöperation with the several State and auxiliary societies, the administration in Liberia being conducted through its appointed agents and officers. Under these conditions, with the colony still at sea as to their immediate future, and with really no form of civil government, but only the arbitrary rule in which the people had no voice, dissatisfaction and controversy between the immigrants and the agents naturally arose perplexing and embarrassing to the Home Society. In this juncture of affairs an appeal was made to the Government for its assistance, and the armed schooner *Porpoise* was at once sent out, bearing Ralph Randolph Gurley, a young man then not as afterwards known to fame, with power to harmonize the conflicting parties and if possible to settle the existing difficulties. On his way out, touching at Porto Praya, he unexpectedly met Mr. Jehudi Ashmun, the Society's agent, who had left the field in despair and was advising that the whole project be abandoned. He, however, returned with Mr. Gurley to the cape, arriving August 13, 1824, where they immediately sent for and consulted with the colonists, and in the end a plan for the civil government of Liberia was adopted and was finally approved by the directors of the Home Society. This plan, with such modifications as the growth of the colony from time to time required, prevailed from 1824 to 1847, when Liberia became an independent republic and assumed her place among the recognized governments of the world.

But the work of the American Colonization Society went forward without relaxation and was approved and supported, as it has been from the beginning, by many of the choicest spirits our country has ever produced. In the first fifty years of its operation, colaboring with the State and auxiliary societies, it had sent to Liberia 13,136 persons of color, at a cost of \$2,558,907.10, and for the Government, as before noted, no less than 5,722 recaptured Africans besides. The semi-centennial meeting of the Society seems to have reached the highest mark of its efficiency. It was in 1867, two years after the close of the civil war, and when

an impression went out over the country that its mission, like that of the Abolition party under the lead of William Lloyd Garrison and his associates, was accomplished and its labors concluded. Slavery had been abolished and the blacks were to be enfranchised. This impression has no doubt seriously affected the ability of the Society to carry on its work upon a scale which should be adequate to the still pressing needs which cry aloud for satisfaction. Old friends in greater or less numbers have annually ceased from their earthly labors. The testators leave no more legacies for the cause ; most of the State and auxiliary societies have been abandoned ; their delegates no longer come to the annual meetings ; the Government long since has been oblivious or indifferent, having no more recaptured Africans to be taken off its hands, and only interested in Liberia as it affords an opportunity for one or two political appointments as the reward of party devotion. The Boston society, named "Trustees of Donations for Education in Liberia," has a fund of some \$40,000, but so devised as to be practically unavailable in the vastly changed conditions of our times. The Pennsylvania auxiliary society, with its \$20,000, is in a similar condition. The New York society, which for a long time has been independent, is understood to have a fund of \$80,000, the income of which has recently been expended in efforts to establish in Liberia industrial education. The Maryland society, formerly the right arm of the parent organization, has practically disbanded, while the assets of the American Colonization Society itself, consisting of its building at headquarters and the annual net income from a block of buildings in Baltimore, the bequest of Mrs. Caroline Donovan, and some \$40,000 out at interest and secured by liens on valuable real estate, afford a revenue which after meeting current expenses amounts annually to only a few thousand dollars, which is all that can be appropriated to promote the stupendously important objects which are set forth in its constitution.

The following tables show the annual receipts of the Society from its organization, in 1817, down to the year 1899, inclusive, and the number of emigrants sent to Liberia annually ; but the work of the Society, "to promote there the extension of Christianity and civilization," is not represented therein :

<i>Year.</i>	<i>Receipts.</i>	<i>Emigrants.</i>	<i>Year.</i>	<i>Receipts.</i>	<i>Emigrants.</i>
1817-'19...	\$14,031 50	None	1861.....	\$75,470 74	55
1820-'22...	5,627 66	156	1862.....	46,208 46	65
1823....	4,758 22	65	1863.....	50,900 36	26
1824.....	4,379 89	103	1864.....	79,454 70	23
1825.	10,125 85	66	1865.	23,633 37	527
1826.....	14,779 24	182	1866.....	59,375 14	621
1827.....	13,294 94	222	1867.....	53,190 48	633
1828.....	13,458 17	163	1868.....	49,959 52	453
1829.....	20,295 61	205	1869.....	62,269 78	160
1830.....	26,683 41	259	1870.....	28,372 32	196
1831.....	32,101 58	421	1871.....	29,348 80	247
1832.....	43,065 08	796	1872.....	33,337 22	150
1833.....	37,242 46	270	1873.....	33,335 71	73
1834.....	22,984 30	127	1874.....	14,749 28	27
1835.	36,661 49	146	1875.....	12,125 79	23
1836.....	33,096 88	234	1876.....	13,961 34	21
1837.	25,558 14	138	1877.....	11,812 72	53
1838.....	10,947 41	109	1878.	15,419 41	101
1839.....	51,498 36	47	1879.....	18,302 37	91
1840.....	56,985 62	115	1880.....	10,862 04	143
1841.....	42,443 68	85	1881... ..	8,523 66	52
1842.....	42,898 88	248	1882.....	10,342 91	27
1843.....	36,093 94	85	1883... ..	14,091 87	53
1844.....	33,640 39	170	1884.....	10,673 24	81
1845.....	56,458 60	187	1885.....	6,930 13	52
1846.....	39,900 03	89	1886.....	44,922 46	110
1847.....	29,472 84	51	1887... ..	20,916 43	124
1848.....	49,845 91	441	1888.....	6,176 05	39
1849.....	50,332 84	422	1889.....	17,144 15	60
1850.....	64,973 71	505	1890.....	7,717 61	63
1851.....	97,443 77	676	1891.....	12,184 20	154
1852.....	86,775 74	630	1892....	9,886 88	50
1853.....	82,458 25	783	1893.....	10,360 04	5
1854... ..	65,433 93	553	1894.....	8,622 27	6
1855.....	55,276 89	207	1895.....	12,449 79	4
1856.....	81,384 41	538	1896.....	8,489 38	None
1857.....	97,384 84	370	1897.....	10,308 55	1
1858.....	61,820 19	167	1898.....	7,838 03	3
1859.....	160,303 23	248	1899.....	7,089 95	4
1860.....	104,546 92	316			
Total....				\$2,763,225 95	15,170

Emigrants sent out by the Maryland State Colonization Society

1,227

Recaptured Africans sent out by the United States.

5,722

Receipts of the Maryland State Society

309,759 33

Receipts of the New York State and the Pennsylvania Society.....

95,640 00

Receipts of the Mississippi Society.....

12,000 00

Grand totals..... \$3,180,625 28 22,119

At the time when Liberia became a Republic and assumed her place among the governments of the world, she had a territory extending some 600 miles along the coast and reaching inland somewhat indefinitely, but so as to embrace at least several of the powerful tribes of that region, especially the Veys, the Kroomen, and the Mandingoes, the great trading people of West Africa, nearly a million of whom are in close alliance with the Liberians and quite a large number of whom have been enfranchised as citizens of the Republic; but, sad to relate, as the years rolled on, England on the northwest and France on the north and east have sliced away their territory, under one pretext or another till now the coast line is no more than 350 miles, and in going inland to the east they soon reach the so-called French possessions. This reduction of domain was submitted to because the strong could force upon the weak the most arbitrary conditions, while our Government deliberately looked on and in utter indifference beheld the spoliation.

I have thus hastily recounted the story of African colonization through the agency of this now venerable Society in order to conclude with certain reflections, which I earnestly hope may excite a deeper interest.

From what has already been said, it appears that at the present time the resources of the several societies that still have a name to live are so tied up by the conditions of the bequests that no way seems possible by which they might be funded together for a more practical and efficient use. If a resort to legislation or to the courts can be made successfully, such a measure should be entered upon immediately in order that more efficient work may be done.

So far as the work of the Society in sending emigrants to Liberia is concerned, it seems to have been pretty much accomplished, as for some years past it will appear from the above tables that very little has been done in this direction, and as the final result of this portion of the plan there are today in Liberia not more than 25,000 people who have become residents there through the direct agency of this Society, aided by the Government in former years and by as many as 300 auxiliary societies operating at one time and scattered over the country. In our day this may appear to be a very small showing for the time, labor, and expense of more than 80 years; but it is not

unparalleled in the chapter of colonization, even of the Anglo-Saxon and other races; with all the supreme motives for quitting Europe and coming to this continent, it took 150 years to collect three millions of people along these shores; and yet, in another view, it may have been one of the designs of Providence to prevent this infant Republic—this Switzerland of Africa—from being submerged and destroyed by a tide of undesirable emigration, which, if poured in rapidly and suddenly upon its free soil and institutions, might have defeated the very object of its origin.

“ God moves in a mysterious way
His wonders to perform;
He plants His footsteps in the sea
And rides upon the storm.
Blind unbelief is sure to err
And scan His work in vain;
God is His own interpreter,
And He will make it plain.”

In a conversation with President Lincoln two days before he issued his proclamation of emancipation, he expressed to me in substance the following thoughts: “ If it had been left to us, we would have had no war, and, more still, we would have had no cause of war; but Providence, it seems, thought otherwise; and what a spectacle do we now present to the world—a divided people, all praying to the same God to favor opposite results while grappling each other’s throats and spilling each other’s blood, while the innocent and injured Negro is the bone of national contention; and if he is to be made free, what is to be the future of his race God only knows.”

Well, emancipation came. In little more than a generation since, the four millions set free have doubled their number and have found no rest for the soles of their feet. The Negro problem in this country is at this moment more complicated and serious than ever before; and all this time the African Republic, though on so small a scale, has been preserved as by an invisible hand and permitted to go on its way in peace and as a standing model, an object-lesson, of the beneficent nature of free institutions to all the surrounding native tribes; and while at this moment European imperialism is striding with an iron tread over the African continent and the southern republics are

in the death throes of an exterminating war, Liberia hangs out her beacon light across the wild waste of waters inviting the weary and disheartened to her peaceful shores.

Nor has another object of the American Colonization Society been entirely overlooked, namely, the promotion of Christianity and civilization among the Africans there, in which work it has been largely aided by the Protestant churches of this country. From the beginning the door of Liberia stood open to the ingress of the missionary and instructor; schools and churches have there been erected and maintained in a region and among a people where before two hundred years of Jesuit propagation had utterly disappeared; Baptist, Episcopal, Lutheran, Methodist, and Presbyterian missions have been planted there, and several of them are today in effective operation, thus in a large measure supplementing the work of the American Colonization Society and promoting the cause of Protestant Christian civilization.

At the present time the headquarters of the Parent Society in Washington are occupied by the Executive Committee of seven persons, as follows: Rev. Byron Sunderland, D. D., Rev. A. J. Huntington, D. D., Mr. J. Ormond Wilson, Mr. James L. Norris, Mr. Joseph J. Darlington, Mr. Clement W. Howard, and Mr. T. E. Roessle, Mr. J. Ormond Wilson being its secretary, with Miss Coppinger as his assistant, and the Hon. James L. Norris its efficient treasurer. The archives of the Society are all here preserved, and as a bureau of information a large correspondence is annually carried on. The reports of its Liberian agents are here received, and from time to time bulletins replete with most important information are issued.

Meanwhile the Negro problem in this country remains unsolved, being utterly abandoned by the fierce and intolerant Abolition party the moment that emancipation was effected as a military necessity of the civil war, a result which that party had no hand in producing and which they never could have accomplished in a hundred years of vituperation and malediction.

What is now most needed is the active participation of the State and General Government in fitting and sending out qualified emigrants to occupy the waste places and to strengthen the pillars and promote the prosperity of the little Republic; and while the monarchies of Europe are expending vast sums of

treasure and life to carry out their schemes of usurpation and plunder, how much better would it be for this American Government to spend its treasure in promoting the peaceful progress of Christian civilization through that open Liberian door; and the time may, indeed, come, according to the opinion of a recent African writer of our own country, W. H. Council, when a different Negro generation may arise in America, who will turn their faces toward the land of their fathers and go in vast numbers to redeem and develop the heritage assigned them when the Almighty Ruler of the universe apportioned our globe to its inhabitants.

B. SUNDERLAND.

THE WHITE MAN'S PROBLEM.

"And finally, in this case and many more, I have very clearly ascertained that the only proper school for workmen is of the work their fathers bred them to, under masters able to do better than any of their men, and with common principles of honesty and the fear of God to guide them."—*Præterita*, John Ruskin, vol. iii, p. 22.

The publication by the United States Department of Agriculture of an account given by Mr. C. B. Smith (who is attached to the Experiment Station office) of a "German common school with a garden" furnishes a rare suggestion for a short discourse on the "White man's problem," which is not only how to efficiently educate the millions of Negro "hewers of wood and drawers of water" in morals and in industrious habits, but how to qualify the other millions of whites at the North and in the South to lead in the industrial progress and development of both sections.

We have for years been showered with theoretical solutions of the so-called "Negro problem" *ad infinitum*, and have long been hungering for a Moses to lead us out of the wilderness of conceptual theories, so fruitless in results, so impracticable, and so embarrassing, to well directed effort.

The school which "points the moral and adorns the tale" of Mr. Smith is one of many rural schools to be found in Germany; and not only in Germany, but in France, where it has been popularly supposed that agricultural instruction was hardly needed.

"In Sweden, which had in 1876, 1,602, and in 1881 as many as 2,000 school gardens, scarcely any public school building is found without such a garden." In Belgium, too, "the prosperity of the rural population, which is derived chiefly from the extended cultivation of truck gardens, must be attributed primarily to the school gardens and the extensive knowledge of horticulture among the people." Similar schools are also to be found in Switzerland and Russia, as well as in England, Scotland, and Ireland, where their great economical importance and value are appreciated.

Englishmen have said of England, as we can say of some parts of our own country, that "the existing agricultural depression is a depression of brains"—a failure to do what we have the means, intelligence, and ability to do if we only knew how.

"Austria treats the school-garden question from a broader and higher standpoint. The imperial law of 1869 prescribed instruction in agriculture in all normal schools, and ordered the establishment of school gardens in villages for the purpose of aiding agriculture; and now the flourishing fruit culture of Bohemia is chiefly attributed to the instruction which the inhabitants have received in the school gardens attached to local public elementary schools." (Dr. Karl Ruland, in *Cologne Gazette*. Cited in Report of Commissioner of Education, vol. 1, pp. 97, 98.)

The subject of Mr. Smith's sketch is located in the village of Alfter, in the German Rhine province between Bonn and Cologne. The whole region lying round the village is farmed "intensively," and forms practically one vast garden. Vegetables alternate with orchards and occasional strips of grain or forage plants.

The school is what is known as a "people's school"—the common school of Germany.

In this school, which is attended by four hundred pupils and taught by six teachers, as in all others in this province, two hours of instruction weekly in fruit culture, gardening, and general farming during the last two years of the course is required. This has been compulsory by law since 1895.

Briefly, the outline of the agricultural course is: in April, May, and June, the inner structure of plants and the functions of their several parts; in July, the soil and its improvement

and the influence of climate; in August and September, fruit culture and fruit utilization; in October and November, fruit-tree management; in December and January, the enemies of fruit trees; in February and March, the minerals and their uses, etc.

In the second year, garden work: the utilization of vegetables and field crops, crop rotation and method of manuring, the enemies of plants and their control, the treatment of domestic animals, and the physiology of man.

The result of this education at Alfter is that nearly every tenant or possessor of a small piece of ground is an experience gardener. "He understands thoroughly the value of cultivation and the money worth of every pound of compost," of which the average Negro cultivator is extremely ignorant. "His wife and children work in the field with him, and the children at an early age have a very clear understanding of garden operations."

At the school the garden is "intensively" farmed and made a source of revenue, and the same soil utilized for two or three crops during the growing season, and the produce sold.

With this object lesson in mind as to what is being done elsewhere and a retrospective glance at the condition of many wastefully, half-cultivated, and abandoned farms and plantations in all parts of our country, at valuable lands worked by many deplorably ignorant and incompetent farmers, will it not at once occur to every thinking man that our present system of rural elementary instruction is, in the direction of practical utility, a misdirected and criminal waste of effort?

This melancholy result is due to our failure to adopt the ready means to accomplish the desired end, namely, to furnish its patrons with the practical technical ability to help themselves in the environment which in their battle for life the great majority is likely to be placed. The abstract must be reached through the concrete.

This failure of our public school systems, in the North as well as in the South, is confessed by the oldest and most experienced educators.

Said Francis A. Walker, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology: "Popular education must be made more sensible, practical, and useful. The housewifery arts must be taught to

girls in schools, and there the boys must learn to use the hand and eye and brain."

In short, we must get back to the first principle of education, a principle which had its genesis in the home and in the practical necessities of the life of the masses.

The Pilgrims brought their appreciation of this training from Holland, where it was thoroughly understood and extensively introduced, and as early as 1667 education was made compulsory in all places of 50 families; and in 1671 parents and masters were made culpable unless children and servants were taught religion and trained for some calling.

French, German, Latin, Greek, geology, astronomy, and drawing will not help a man to make two blades of grass grow where one grew before, or to raise 40 bushels of oats where his father raised but 20, or two or three crops on land where he never raised but one, or to acquire a knowledge of things fundamental and absolutely necessary for his maintenance.

We do not intend to depreciate these accomplishments, but to suggest that they become useful, or a source of pleasure, only when one has, by his own or some one else's labor, gained the leisure to acquire and maintain a greater knowledge of them than is or can be obtained in the course of the ordinary common-school curriculum, in which the tendency is to encourage "the restless habit of mind which passes at will from one view of a subject or from one kind of knowledge to another," which was condemned by Professor Jowett, master of Balliol, and is not the acquirement of intellectual power.

By this system we possibly gain in superficial refinement and decorum at the expense of correct judgment, of the reason, and general physical and mental power.

It is frequently remarked that boys who have received a manual or industrial training are "in the power of mental concentration and in the ability to take and follow directions, in executive ability and judgment much superior to those who have not."

An ex-headmaster, and a Massachusetts teacher for a third of a century or more, in a personal note says:

"It is my feeling, which must be derived from experience and observation, that the old town schools, with their few studies and practical home training, did give a larger percentage of

good, well-balanced minds, prepared for good work, than the elementary schools of the present fashion and time."

Our college entrance examinations conclusively show that our schools impart knowledge rather than train the mind to reasoning processes.

In an agricultural population like that of our Southern States, where 87 per cent. are employed in the fields, the problem of public education ceases to be racial or local and becomes of general public interest.

It is difficult to imagine anything more unphilosophical and unpractical and entirely unfitted for the needs of the poor white and Negro than the instruction at present, given chiefly at the white man's expense.

In these rural communities the white man's practical opportunities are the Negro's opportunities, and, in field culture, what the white man knows and practices the Negro knows and practices.

In a great degree the two populations are materially and mutually dependent; what benefits the one benefits the other; what is disastrous to one is disastrous to the other.

The great economic value the technically trained Negro has in his special field of labor is not now and has never been properly understood or appreciated, and the problem immediately before us, which it is our mutual interest to solve, is how by elementary instruction to better adapt him to his economic and social environment. The Negro, handicapped by his poverty and indifference and ignorance, has little active part to take in the solution of this problem in which the white, by his superior mental endowment, greater practical ability, hereditary training, and larger means, is able at once to take the initiative.

Mr. W. W. Baldwin, Jr., in an excellent address upon "The problem of Negro education" before the American Social Science Association at Saratoga last summer, which is highly appreciative of the work of Hampton, Tuskegee, and similar institutions, emphatically said: "But I deny there is longer any problem to be solved. I maintain that the solution has been found, and there remains only the question of means to carry it out."

It appears to us that the determination of the means and methods by which this education is to be successfully carried to and benefit the masses, a difficulty which has been inherent in

the industrial movement and comparatively lost sight of from the beginning, is the "industrial problem," which still remains to be solved, as the value of industrial education has long since been proven and acknowledged. I suppose that it will be admitted without argument that the great present need of the South and of the North is scientific agriculture, and the problem pressing for immediate solution, how most economically to extend and diffuse this knowledge among the people as we see it diffused in the little village of Alfter in the object lesson before us is emphatically the white man's problem.

I suggest that this can only be done by connecting the instruction given in the different State and private institutions with the curriculum of the public elementary school, and by so doing carry out the avowed purpose and object of the industrial school, which is to furnish teachers to carry the industrial training they receive to the people, in which purpose they have thus far signally failed for want of opportunity and because of the neglect to correlate these institutions with the elementary educational systems.

In the fact that there is now no such practical connection lies the present great weakness of these institutions in the practical results for which they are designed and which they are supposed to attain.

No one conversant with the subject will fail to give to these great industrial schools all the credit they so well deserve, or fail to recognize the energy and intelligence shown in their administration; but he will reluctantly be obliged to confess that through no fault or neglect of theirs they have thus far failed to accomplish their highest purpose because the instruction so carefully given fails to reach the masses.

This failure can be shown by the records of each institution.

I have no very recent reports at hand, but by that of the Bureau of Education for the years 1889-1890 I find that of the 1,243 graduates of 17 industrial colored schools, but 12 were farming and but 3 were working at their trade, while 693, or 55.75 per cent. of the whole number of graduates, were teaching not practical industries, but academic studies. One hundred and seventeen were ministers, 116 were lawyers, 27 college professors, 5 editors, 15 merchants, 36 office-holders, 5 druggists, 14 dentists, 2 book-keepers, 2 printers, 3 butchers, and 30 were

in miscellaneous pursuits. It will be seen that of the total number of these graduates less than $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. were employed in the industries for which they had been especially educated, and that while the instruction they had received was individually of great value, it is practically lost to the community, which also suffers an additional loss by the turning of a productive into a largely non-productive class.

The solution of this phase of the white man's problem does not seem to be difficult or expensive. By State or local action the curricula of the rural elementary public schools can be easily increased, if necessary, at the expense of some less practical study, by the addition of three or four hours' practical agricultural instruction weekly, given by the graduates of the higher industrial schools, who will thus practically utilize their knowledge for the public benefit.

In the city or larger town schools the same time can be profitably given to practical economic technical instructions and domestic science.* If to provide the funds to accomplish these reforms in our Southern States it is found necessary to abandon secondary education at the public expense, it would not be a great misfortune to the working class, as so very few of that class North or South ever reach the secondary school.

In Australia it has been found that "it is only for the picked children of the working class that a demand for secondary education exists."

"In New South Wales fees are charged in these schools, and they are practically self-supporting." "It is therefore probable," says Sir Charles Dilke, "that secondary education in the colonies will continue to be carried on by private enterprise." (Problems of Greater Britain.)

By this agricultural education of the masses through the elementary school, and by the organization of farmers' institutes and conferences, and by practical observation of the object les-

* It is a singular coincidence that the Agricultural Educational Committee of England (of which some of the most eminent men of science and agriculturists are members) emphatically asserts, as reported in *Nature*, February 1, that agricultural instruction must begin with the elementary school, for that is the foundation upon which the whole superstructure is to be built. The committee also emphasizes the importance of differentiating the curriculum of the rural from that of the urban school.

sons always before them, the great agricultural population of the South will be benefited to a greater degree than that of any other section of the country, as her lands are cheap, her labor willing and abundant, and her soil capable of double or treble its present productive capacity.

From Mr. Smith's report it would appear that our rural communities would in the supply of trained teachers have a great practical advantage over the German schools. He says:

"As a matter of fact, in the great majority of the schools of this province the instruction in agricultural subjects is almost wholly theoretical. The teachers who make use of the school garden for the purposes of instruction are the exception. The majority of teachers in German schools come from the cities, and thus have not been in close association with rural life and work. The technique of orchard, garden, and farming operations has never been mastered by them, and with only a theoretical knowledge of these subjects the difficulty of teaching them is greatly increased. The principal of the Alfter school ascribes whatever of success he has been able to bring to the school along agricultural lines almost wholly to the fact that his early academic teacher was a man who thoroughly understood and who was thoroughly in love with horticultural work. The tendency is to confine the work too largely to the school-room. Even from this standpoint, however, the course, when illustrated by good charts, prepared specimens, and the use of simple text-books, has considerable educational value. But the Germans are becoming fully aware of the fact that the complete success of such a course will depend almost wholly on the teaching ability, theoretical and practical knowledge of the subject, and enthusiasm of the individual teacher."

It will be particularly fitting if the Southern States take the initiative in this development of the elementary school, as it was within their borders, at Lethe, in Abbeville district, South Carolina, that the first farm and manual labor school in the United States was established by Dr. John de la Howe, in 1797.

GEORGE R. STETSON.

THE SERVICES OF LEONARD BACON TO AFRICAN
COLONIZATION.

II.

In the year 1833 the affairs of the American Colonization Society were approaching a perilous crisis. This was not only, nor even chiefly, on account of the fierce attacks upon the Society by Mr. Garrison. These were, some of them, so extravagant as to refute themselves; others of them were capable of being refuted and were refuted, and by none more conclusively than by Mr. Bacon himself; but the incessant reiteration of them was nevertheless effective in alienating from the Society some of those good men who had been attracted by the fervor of Mr. Garrison's anti-slavery crusade and were not yet repelled from him by his frenzies.

But these "fightings without" gave Mr. Bacon no serious concern for the cause that had grown dear to his heart through ten years of earnest and unpaid labor in its behalf. He was more concerned that there should be no just ground for attacks on the Society, and that even the pretexts for unjust attacks should be taken away. This is the aim of the following letter to Secretary Gurley, March 19, 1833:

"I see by the newspapers that there is some commotion in the Society at headquarters. I am anxious to hear authentic particulars. The relations of the Society to slavery seem to be the ground of dissension. Let me show my opinion. I would have the Society declare by solemn public acts:

"1. That it looks to the voluntary and peaceful abolition of slavery in the United States as one of the ultimate results of its labors.

"2. That as a Society it has nothing to do with slavery, either for or against it, except as slavery may be affected by the existence and growth of our African colonies.

"3. That it has no control over the opinions or conduct of its members and friends; that it leaves every man to act on the subject of slavery and on every other subject according to the light of his own conscience and under his personal responsibility to God, and that it is not to be held accountable for what any man says or does in relation to this subject.

"4. That it does by no means propose its own enterprise as the *only* thing to be done for the abolition of slavery or for the improvement of the ignorant in this country or in Africa, or as necessarily rival or hostile to any other enterprise aiming at these ends."

There were other and not less grave troubles in which the Society had become involved through business mismanagement. Mr. Bacon's anxiety led him to New York in "anniversary week," May, 1833, for consultation with the friends of the cause. In company with those energetic anti-slavery advocates, Gerrit Smith and Robert J. Breckenridge, he addressed the colonization meeting in the Brick Church.

His interest in the whole subject was deepened by news from Maryland that the colonization society of that State had boldly taken an anti-slavery position, and was moving with declared purpose for the abolition of slavery in Maryland. The State society, dissatisfied with the negative position taken at Washington, had determined to establish a separate colony for Maryland, independent of the control of the national society, and in the name of free soil to invite the coöperation of the friends of liberty in all parts of the country. These proposals were communicated to Mr. Bacon in a long letter from the very able chairman of the Maryland society's committee of correspondence, John H. B. Latrobe, Esq. Inclosing to Mr. Bacon the outspoken abolitionist manifesto of the Society, Mr. Latrobe says:

"It is believed that the Society acted in accordance with the feelings of the people of the State and the legislature upon the subject. A slave-holding State has therefore now for the first time openly avowed its determination to free itself from slavery, and it has called on the North for assistance in the accomplishment of its design. Will the North aid it? There can be no doubt that the State of Maryland could be made a free State, and there can be as little doubt that if this could be effected colonization would be nobly illustrated. Virginia, Tennessee, Kentucky, and North Carolina would be influenced by the example, and more would be done for the cause of liberty than can ever be effected by the scattered, and feeble because scattered, operations of the American Colonization Society over the whole Union. Instead of quarreling with the North as to the effects of colonization, Maryland now says, We admit the justice of your views in regard to it; come and aid us in carrying them

into effect. Let the South alone for a season. Time and circumstances will work the same conviction there about the evils of slavery that they have wrought in Maryland. When this last is freed from the blot that is upon her, we will lend our aid to remove it from Virginia."

Then, after entering into full details concerning the Maryland plan, the letter concludes :

"In this long letter, if I have trespassed upon your patience, it is because I rely upon your friendship to colonization. For this last ten years interested in it, I have never thought it promised fairer than at present. A slave State has determined to be a free one, and there is success in the very determination. Can the North refuse to hasten the period when it shall be complete?"

This spontaneous movement at the South for the abolition of slavery was well fitted to stir the enthusiastic hopes of the young pastor. A few months later (October 11) came another letter from the same hand, reporting the hopeful progress of the new enterprise and inviting Mr. Bacon to accept, either permanently or for a time, the general agency for the Society, north of the Potomac, at a salary far beyond that of his pastorate at New Haven. Mr. Bacon's answer to both of these letters was as follows, under date of October 22:

"In regard to the position taken by your Society, and your scheme for a new colony, I may say at once that you have my hearty approbation and may depend upon my humble but zealous coöperation. I have had my fears, which I expressed to Mr. Sheppard and Mr. Gurley, that there might be collision, or at least a want of cordiality, between the two societies, highly disastrous to both and to the common cause. These fears are now happily removed, and I cannot but hope that each colony in Africa, and each society in this country, will be a support and will impart new life and energy to the other. I have no doubt that the Christian public in every State this side of Maryland will be perfectly ready, not, indeed, to transfer their stated contributions from the parent society to you, but to afford you, from time to time, in emergencies like the present, prompt and efficient aid.

"In regard to your proposal to me to undertake the general agency of your Society, I feel constrained to answer your inquiry in the negative. The proposal was certainly very gratifying as a mark of your confidence in one whom you know only by repu-

tation, and as proceeding from men whose works show that their confidence is worth having; indeed I know not that any offer of the kind could be more inviting to me. I decline this, as I have declined similar proposals from Washington heretofore, on this ground distinctly, viz., that I regard my connection with my people as too sacred to be dissolved by any such call, while their affection towards me continues unabated and my strength is adequate to the labors of the pastoral office."

The approaching annual meeting of the Colonization Society, in January, 1834, was felt to be a life-or-death crisis for the Society. There had been grave mismanagement in its business affairs; a debt of \$40,000—formidably large for that day of small things—had been incurred; and the need was felt and acknowledged of serious changes, not only of organization but of constitution. Two weighty and statesmanlike letters from Mr. Bacon in the *African Repository* for December, 1833, and January, 1834, indicated the lines that must be followed if the Society would fulfill its trust and hold the confidence of the public. Reviewing the large responsibilities of the Society which had been inadequately discharged, he remarks:

"It is a new phenomenon in the history of legislation and civil polity, that the supreme government of a young and growing nation in Africa, a government sustained by no military or naval force, a government preëminently dependent on the consent of the governed and on their experience of its utility, resides for the present, and, if rightly administered, will reside for some years to come, in the annually elected board of managers of an unchartered and unendowed benevolent association here in America. The governor of the colony is appointed by those managers, and is immediately and constantly responsible to them. The laws enacted by the governor in council are only temporary edicts till approved by them. The funds by which the government is supported and all its measures are prosecuted are drawn from their treasury; and the affairs of that government are every year becoming greater and more complicated. How important, then, is it that the organization of the Society should be such as to secure the greatest attention to its concerns, and the greatest promptitude, economy, and efficiency of action!"

As the annual meeting approached, urgent importunities were multiplied from different quarters to induce Mr. Bacon, at whatever sacrifice, to attend it. Mr. Gurley writes: "I am more and

more convinced that *all* for the cause depends on that meeting. I hope you will be with us. Gerrit Smith will." He could not refuse to go; and yet it was with no confident hope of a good result. He writes home from Washington:

"I fear we shall not succeed in a reform without a struggle, and I fear that a reform with a struggle will destroy the Society as it exists at present, and will be made the occasion of alienating and terrifying all the South and putting back the anti-slavery influence of the Society; but reform we must have, for without reform we are ruined, and we can be only ruined with it."

Well, the reform was achieved, and how important was the contribution to this result made by this youngest of those in council is partly manifest from the records and the journals of the time. Led off by the inspiring eloquence of Gerrit Smith and his munificent subscription of \$5,000 toward the extinction of the debt, the assembly was aroused to new courage, and the fresh start was full of hope; but much still remained to be done, and in the midst of immense and multifarious labors Mr. Bacon found time to bestow on the cause so dear to him. Under date of February 3, 1834, he writes to Mr. Gurley:

"I take the earliest opportunity to put down on paper one or two thoughts for your consideration. If you think either of them worth attending to, you can make what use of it you please.

"1. Ought not measures to be taken immediately to organize in Liberia a representative legislature, small, but larger than the present council there, on a plan somewhat like that of the legislative councils in our United States Territories? Will not some security be thus obtained against negligence and abuses in the government? It seems to me that the report of the committee of the citizens of Liberia which I saw at your office the other day is pretty good proof that such a legislature might be organized there and might be of great use. Of course, it should be so limited in its powers as to leave the sovereignty for the present in the hands of the Society. The governor might have a veto on their acts, and the board at home might control the governor.

"2. Ought not arrangements to be made that every officer elected by the people shall be paid by the people, or not paid at all? This, I think, would have two effects: (1) It would curtail the expenses of the Government; (2) it would make the people the more willing to keep their connection with the Society, when they should see and feel the difference between paying officers themselves and having them paid from our treasury.

The patronage of the governor and of the board is likely to make the Government there strong enough, even after such a curtailment."

In this and later letters are other suggestions as to administration, and plans for the reduction of the debt, for which he was not only laboring, but out of his slender resources giving far beyond his means. "My anxiety for the cause," he says, "is such that I find it difficult to hold my peace."

One of these letters to Mr. Gurley, dated February 25, enunciates a fundamental maxim of charitable management that is not always observed:

"In regard to the 'statement about your debt,' let me say, make a full and fearless exposure of all the mischief and all the mismanagement, come the blame where it may. *There is no way to gain the public confidence but by giving your confidence first to the public.* Let them see everything, and, among other things, let them see that the Society is thoroughly revolutionized; that the spirit of mismanagement and inefficiency is no longer the presiding genius of your institution. If the public see any identity or sympathy between the present and the former direction, your ruin is irretrievable; you die insolvent, and leave your affairs to be settled by your creditors. * * *

"[Speaking of the difficulty of finding a suitable man for colonial agent, in which the writer had taken active interest:] * * * If it were not for my own domestic ties and duties, I think I would offer myself at once as a candidate for the colonial agency; but I would advise no man to undertake that warfare who has a wife and children to provide for."

Later, in this same correspondence (March 24), is an earnest effort to steer the Society clear of one of its besetting dangers. The opening sentence quotes a phrase of Mr. Gurley's which seemed to show a misapprehension of Mr. Bacon's position.

"It is not, it never has been at all, my view that the good effects of colonization are to be 'limited to its Christian influence in Africa.' I look upon our institution as 'the great means,' though not at all the only means, 'of hope and elevation to the colored race.' Yet, in my view, *our* work, as the Colonization Society, is to be done chiefly, almost entirely, in Africa. If we are successful there, we are successful everywhere. If we are successful there, we elevate the character and standing, and enlarge the being, I had almost said, of every man of color in the world. If we are successful *there*, we draw thousands

upon thousands of these people to the possession of the privileges which Liberia will offer them. If we are successful *there*, the effect on this whole nation will be inestimable and illimitable. If we *fail there*, we fail utterly. To me it is clear as the noon that our sphere of action is Africa; the object of all our efforts should be the promotion and perfection of our colonies. What we accomplish in respect to this country is to be accomplished, not by direct action, but by *reaction*. This is the only safe policy. The moment you depart from this line and begin to act directly with a view to diminish the colored population in Virginia or anywhere else, you begin to involve the cause in embarrassment and defeat."

It was inevitable that the good work accomplished at the annual meeting of the Society should be evil spoken of. The strange animosity with which Mr. Garrison had now for four years been assailing the beneficent enterprise which just before he had extolled with extravagant eulogy had infected some better men than himself, and had been exalted into a sort of condition of fellowship among the extreme and violent abolitionists. So good and upright a man as Joshua Leavitt, editor of the New York *Evangelist*, was moved at this period of the controversy to excesses of statement which he afterward regretted. In answer to a statement in his paper that "the attempted reform" was ended, "leaving all things in regard to the management, &c., as they were from the beginning," Mr. Bacon published a not discourteous but decisive article which had wide currency and influence:

"The reform which I and those in whose behalf I acted desired has been effected. * * * The direction of the institution, instead of being left in the hands of an indefinite and imperfectly organized body, is now committed to the executive officers and nine other individuals, who will annually render a strict account to their constituents. I feel no hesitation in saying for my colleagues, as well as for myself, that we have full confidence in the ability, fidelity, and benevolent views of the new board as it is actually constituted, and, what is of no inferior consequence, while these reforms were discussed with much freedom, and while on particular points of discussion there was no little difference of opinion, the reformed constitution was finally agreed to, and the reformed board of managers was elected with entire unanimity.

"My confidence in the success of the colony of Liberia is not impaired, but strengthened. The want of management here

and in Africa, by which the cause has been so much embarrassed, is at an end. The only constitutional object of the Society, namely, the voluntary colonization of people of color, now free or to be freed hereafter, will be pursued, I doubt not, vigorously, wisely, and with *singleness of purpose*. With the discussion of the ethics of slavery or the principles and process of its abolition the Society has nothing to do; nor will the present board be disposed to meddle with that subject. On the other hand, I am equally confident that the Society as now organized will not suffer itself to become auxiliary to any scheme for the compulsory removal or the increased oppression of the colored people."

Mr. Bacon's fixed resolution that the Colonization Society as a corporation should stick to its proper business and not enter into the slavery debate then raging did not at all imply that he shrank from that debate himself. In the *Quarterly Christian Spectator* for December, 1833, appeared a very serious and carefully studied paper from his pen on the ethics of slavery. It has historical importance as being one of those "occasional essays" controverting, on the one hand, the fanatical notions of Mr. Garrison and his followers and, on the other hand, the equally fanatical defenses of slavery which, being gathered a few years later into a volume, helped to fix the clear, strong, and temperate convictions of Abraham Lincoln. Of course, the argument was violently attacked by the "immediate abolitionists." It impugned their fundamental thesis, as enunciated by themselves, that "slave-holding under every possible modification is man-stealing. Man-stealing, as combining impiety in principle, falsehood in claim, injustice and cruelty without intermission and without end, is the most flagrant iniquity which a sinner can perpetrate. All profession of religion by a man who thus acts is a gross deception." Debate with men who started from such premises was not hopeful, but one of the replies bore the signature of that former neighbor and yoke-fellow, but actual antagonist, Joshua Leavitt, whom Mr. Bacon held in such sincere respect that he wrote a detailed rejoinder, sending it in a fraternal private letter that said: "I take all this trouble about the matter because I am determined not to fall out with such a brother as you." Among other misconceptions of his position which he corrected is one so important to the subject of this paper and so persistently and unscrupu-

lously repeated to this day that it is worth while to make this extract:

“ You say that ‘ the *Spectator* has now ceased from the delusive dream of abolishing slavery by expatriation,’ intimating that the *Spectator* has formerly taught that slavery is to be abolished by expatriation. I am bold to reply, as having written nearly all the articles which have touched upon that subject in the *Christian Spectator* for the last ten years, that no such doctrine has been taught on the pages of that work. I am not such a stickler for consistency that I cannot give up even a published opinion. I have learned much respecting slavery and the means of its abolition since I began to write on these subjects. I expect to learn much more; and as my mind advances, I have no doubt the complexion of my publications will continue to change; but I have never taught—and I do not risk much when I add, no other writer for the *Spectator* has taught—that slavery would be or could be abolished by what you call expatriation. You have fallen into a common mode of misapprehending the opinions of those who befriend the American Colonization Society. You seem to think that no man can favor that cause without holding to the scheme of abolishing slavery by the simple and single process of carrying away the slaves and making them free in Africa. Such a view does great injustice to my opinions and to the opinions of thousands besides.”

Out of their common anxieties, consultations, and labors in that critical annual meeting of 1834 grew up an intimate acquaintance between Mr. Bacon and that very remarkable and noble character, Gerrit Smith, of Peterboro, New York. There were strong contrasts between the two men in temperament, in intellectual constitution, and in the circumstances of their lives; but in their love of liberty and justice and hatred of oppression and earnest interest in the enterprise of the African colony they were at one. For two years the letters between the friends were frequent and sometimes voluminous. In one of the earliest of them (March 20, 1834) it is almost startling to read in Mr. Bacon's handwriting his proposal in detail to add to the enormous weight and diversity of his actual duties the editing and publishing of a weekly, *Journal of Freedom*, the leading object of which (he tells his correspondent) “ should be to enlighten, concentrate, and express Northern public opinion on the subject of slavery and the various means and processes by which slavery is to be abolished.” The project met with strong sympathy and aid from Mr. Smith. One of the leading features of the *Journal of Free-*

dom, through twelve successive numbers, was a detailed refutation, paragraph by paragraph, of the letter of Mr. James G. Birney against the colonization enterprise. It is to this that Mr. Smith refers at the beginning of his letter of October 1, 1834.

"I have read your review of Birney's letter so far as it is contained in the two numbers of the *Journal of Freedom*, and am highly gratified with it. Birney is a good man, a man of talents, and a fine writer, but he evidently had, during his agency under the American Colonization Society, and has yet, cloudy and very erroneous views of the nature and objects of colonization. You show him up well. I say *you*, for I presume you are the author of the review. * * *

"If I can find time amidst my multiplied engagements, I wish to write three numbers for publication, and I wish you to write me whether they had better be published in your paper or some other. * * * The first number will advocate the doctrine of immediate emancipation. The second will enter into the means of advancing this doctrine, and in doing this it will examine the merits of the Anti-slavery Society. The last number will inquire into the merits of the American Colonization Society; will find some fault with it, but accord it still more praise. In a word, my views on all the subjects will, I think, agree substantially—not precisely, perhaps—with yours and with those of intelligent colonizationists throughout New England. * * * I shall want you to publish criticisms of them whenever you think that they deserve criticisms."

Extracts from successive letters of Mr. Smith will give a vivid idea of the fluctuations of sentiment in this period of history:

"December 3, 1834.—I have just received a delightful letter from James G. Birney. It is so full of friendly and affectionate and Christian feeling that had I not criticised his letter before I received it I should hardly have had a heart for the office, and yet I say nothing harsh of him, and I am glad that in all your review of his letter there is not an unkind or harsh line. He is doubtless a capital fellow."

"December 18, 1834. I yesterday received the package of journals containing the first essay and your letter on it. I thank you in the name of the public for this letter. It will do good. It well describes the views of the intelligent friends of abolition, however they may differ among themselves about the words 'immediate emancipation.' By the way, I am not *very* confident that you are wrong and I am right in the sense we attach to these words. I will think more on this point, and at some future day I may address a letter to you for publication touching this point and some others. I am very happy to find that

your views and my own in respect to abolition are in such perfect accordance. I feel very confident that we are on the right ground, and I hope the Lord will bless our efforts to bring others to that ground.

"February 6, 1835.—I have no doubt that you should, in some way or ways, devote yourself, your time and powers, to the welfare of the African race. You have loved that race and been deeply interested in it from your boyhood. No man in our country has written so much as you have on the subject of the interests of that race. No man in this country understands those interests as well as you do. Here are reasons, not to speak of others, conclusive in favor of the consecration of yourself to the cause of the African race.

"June 17, 1835.—Colonization, as commercial men speak, is 'on the rise,' evidently. But it does not yet wear a right aspect. I am impatient to see it freed from its evil mixtures. Colonization is carried on in too much of a worldly spirit, even by good men. It is in this wise made palatable to the wicked. The Anti-slavery Society is acquiring a more and more offensive character. Not only the *Liberator*, but the *Emancipator*, responds to Thompson's outrageous, infamous attacks on the English delegates [to the Baptist churches]. I believe that the spirit of the Society responds to that attack. It is an ugly, unbaptized, unblest spirit.

"October 17, 1835.—I propose to stop with my wife for a day or two in Utica to witness the proceedings of the Anti-slavery Convention, in which I understand all the anti-slavery magnates—Birney, Jay, Tappan, Thompson, Weld, etc.—are to appear. Of course, I shall be there, but in the character of a spectator. Still, I expect to be much interested and instructed. I wish you could be by my side on that occasion. * * *

"I have just received the October number of the *African Repository*. It is quite too anti-anti-slavery to please me. I very much fear that our Colonization Society, still dear to me, will fall into the arms of slaveholders."

Mr. Smith's long letter of October 24 gives a vivid narrative of the Anti-slavery Convention at Utica, interrupted and dispersed by the violence of a mob claiming to act in the name of "the citizens of Utica," and adjourning, at Mr. Smith's invitation, to meet at the church in his village of Peterboro. The letter concludes :

"I am now perfectly convinced—I was about so before—that the enemies of the Anti-slavery Society have established it. Henceforth this Society will be the rallying point to the friends of the right of free discussion, and I do sincerely believe that

the Society has already become so identified with this right that the fall of the Society would be the fall of the right. For one, therefore, valuing this right above almost every other right, I cannot do anything toward demolishing the Anti-slavery Society. That, however, I have never done. I have labored for its purification, not its destruction. What is more, though, I see as clearly as ever its gross faults, and have believed that I could never join it until they were rectified, I now believe that not many months will pass away before I become a member of it. I believe I shall have to identify myself with that society in order to make the best defense I can of the right of free discussion.

"The meeting resolved on giving me a seat with them. I took my seat and made them a speech, wholly about the right of free discussion.

"January 22, 1836.—I am sick of the partisan and intolerant spirit which is so prevalent in the Anti-slavery Society and among its opponents. God grant that I may never be infected with it. I still believe that I have done right in joining the Anti-slavery Society, and although I have no better views of the Anti-slavery Society (they were always favorable, in the main) than I had when we last met, I still think that you should join it, and that you could do more good in it than out of it.

"The Colonization Society is as dear to me as ever; but I have written Gurley that I must stand aloof from it until it ceases from its impertinent concern with the subject of slavery. Gurley writes me in reply a very kind letter, saying that mine to him will be published. You will then see it.

"June 10, 1836.—How unhappy is it for Africa and her children in our country that the Anti-slavery Society should stand in the way of the colonization of Africa, and that the Colonization Society should stand in the way of the abolition of slavery! Whatever the causes of it, innocent or guilty, this is nevertheless the attitude of hostility which they bear towards these respective objects, and this is true, notwithstanding there are hundreds, if not thousands, in each of these societies who deeply lament the false and injurious position of their society in this respect. For instance, though I love the cause of African colonization as much as ever, yet am I numbered with its enemies, and my little influence is, contrary to my will, exactly against it. On the other hand, such men as yourself, Mr. Frelinghuysen, Dr. Proudfit, with an abolition pulse not less strong, surely, than my own, are, from your continued connection with the Colonization Society, standing in the way of the anti-slavery cause. In a word, the Anti-slavery Society is an anti-colonization society, and the Colonization Society is an anti-abolition society. * * *

"The Anti-slavery Society is, I think, going on pretty well. Its spirit is improving; it is good. But we greatly need an ac-

cession of wise and prudent men, and especially for the purpose of arresting our tendency to become a political party. The temper of its last anniversary meeting was most happy. You would have been delighted with the exhibition in it of solemn, religious, compassionate feeling, and you would have been disgusted with the pro-slavery effusions and the merry-making in the Colonization meeting the following evening."

This is not a history of the work of Gerrit Smith; but I make no apology for these large extracts from unpublished letters of that very eminent and noble gentleman, for I know no better way of illustrating the agitations of the period. It was a time of violent actions and reactions (to borrow a metaphor applied by Dr. Bushnell to this very case) between a corroding acid and a caustic alkali, and the effervescence was tremendous. Men of clear convictions and independent judgment found themselves, from time to time, in unexpected company. Dr. Channing perceived that the fury of the abolitionists had produced in the free States a reaction favorable to slavery; and yet he "found himself compelled by the persecutions and mobs which had been got up against these societies to take sides with a party whose doctrine of immediate emancipation he renounced, whose system of agitation he deprecated, and whose spirit of denunciation he abhorred. Just so, thousands of the best of men, struck with the ferocity of the denunciations indiscriminately launched against all slave-holders in all possible circumstances, had been constrained to take sides with slave-holders and to say, Whatever may be true of slavery, slave-holding is not necessarily so bad as you represent it. Those who have demurred at the new doctrine of immediate emancipation, or its corollaries, such as the exclusion of every slave-owner from all Christian communion, have been villified in the publications of these reformers as "dough-faces," "pro-slavery advocates," "apologists for oppression and man-stealing," and by suffering the same reproaches with the slave-holder, from the same quarter, have been compelled thus far to sympathize with him.*

While the atmosphere was thus vexed with contrary currents, in one direction drifting the most munificent and enthusiastic of all the friends of the Colonization cause into the ranks of its avowed enemies, in the opposite direction drawing other friends

* L. Bacon in *Christian Spectator*, January, 1836.

of the cause into seeming compliances with injustice and oppression, men felt the value of a man solidly fixed on his clear and well-reasoned convictions and "standing four-square to all the winds." From his early student days the demand had been pressed on Mr. Bacon that he should devote himself officially to the cause of Africa and the African race. This demand was now renewed with the most urgent importunity. Within the space of a few months no less than five distinct proposals were declined by him, offering him large increase of salary, and even inviting him to name his own terms on which he would give himself to the public service in this line of work. In one case only did he hold the question for a time seriously in suspense. In 1836 there was an earnest and hopeful effort to organize the sober, reasonable, and Christian anti-slavery sentiment of the country into a working society; and that leader of the extreme Abolitionist party, Arthur Tappan, a member of his own congregation, with whom, nevertheless, he was on this subject in the sharpest antagonism, declared that if Leonard Bacon could be induced to take the practical leadership of the movement he would sustain it with an annual subscription of a thousand dollars. This request was backed by the personal urgency of such numerous and weighty names that he could not refuse to ponder it deliberately, but it was not long in doubt in his own mind. It was decided by the superior claim of the flock at New Haven "over which the Holy Ghost had made him overseer."

It is not necessary to dwell in detail on the later services of Mr. Bacon to the Colonization cause. I do not find that his early convictions of the wisdom and hopefulness of the plan of colonization were changed by the embarrassments that beset the administration of that enterprise in America or the occasional failures or reverses in Africa. But the discussion of the slavery question now began to take a wider range, and his part in the debate turned upon other points. In fact, the warfare which the Anti-slavery Society had waged against the friends of the African colony had quite ceased to be a warfare of principle, if, indeed, it had ever been more than a matter of partisan prejudice and passion. When in 1846 he collected into a duodecimo volume of 250 pages some of his more important writings on the theme than which "no subject not immediately connected with his official duties or his professional studies had occupied so

much of his attention," he eliminated some passages relating to the colonization enterprise, as belonging to an obsolete controversy. "That controversy," he said, since our Anti-slavery friends have done so much at colonization in Canada, seems to be at rest, and I have no wish to revive it."*

The question has often arisen in my mind, as I have reviewed the published and unpublished records of the long and always active life of Leonard Bacon, what would have been the difference to himself and to the country if some of those entreaties that were repeatedly urged upon him from his boyish entrance upon public life on to the prime of his manhood that he would devote himself wholly to the subject of slavery and the remedies for it, had won his consent. Is it possible that with his clarity of vision, his judicial temper, his confessed mastery in debate, and that power of conciliation which on so many notable occa-

* Slavery discussed in Occasional Essays from 1833 to 1846. By Leonard Bacon, pastor of the First Church in New Haven, p. ix. On the same page occurs a notable sentence, which is currently quoted as from Abraham Lincoln. It is indeed Lincoln's sentence, adopted by him from this very volume, to which he repeatedly acknowledged his obligations for settling his mind in those clear, temperate, and strong convictions on the slavery question, on which he stood so firmly and inexpugnably against attacks from opposite quarters. The entire closing paragraph of Mr. Bacon's preface is worth quoting for its historical bearings:

"It is no part of the object in any of these essays to *prove* that the slavery which exists in these American States is wrong. To me it seems that the man who needs argument on that point cannot be argued with. What elementary idea of right and wrong can that man have? If that form of government, that system of social order, is not wrong—if those laws of the Southern States by virtue of which slavery exists there and is what it is—nothing is wrong. Such a book as Wheeler's 'Law of Slavery' leaves no room for any argument to prove that our Southern slavery is wrong, if only the reader is gifted with a moral sense. It is therefore taken for granted in these essays, from first to last, that every man has his rights, and that our American slavery, which denies all rights to some two millions of human beings and decrees that they shall always be held at the lowest point of degradation, is too palpably wrong to be argued about. The wrong of that slavery, however, is one thing, and the way to rectify that wrong is another thing. The wrongfulness of that entire body of laws, opinions, and practices is one thing, and the criminality of the individual master who tries to do right is another thing. These essays therefore treat chiefly of the way in which the wrong can be set right."

sions availed to draw divided parties to unanimity of action, he might, from some center of national influence, concentrating all his faculties on this one subject, have controlled the vehement courses of public sentiment that were rushing through diverse channels toward the awful verge of civil war? Or would he, perhaps, have lost more by the change than he could have gained—the completeness of view that is not to be had from the thick of the fight, the all-roundness of judgment due to the habitual holding of this subject in its proportionate relations to other subjects, and would it perhaps have been proved in his case, as in the case of so many who gave themselves exclusively to the study of this agitating theme, that “oppression maketh a wise man mad.” The question is of little interest except to those who love and reverence his memory. As for him, he found his path of duty made plain to him, and he was fully content to rest and stand in his lot till the end of the days. I cannot doubt that he would have repeated at the close of his long life the words which he wrote in his youth concerning his labors in behalf of the colonization of Africa:

“We esteem it a privilege to be among the least honored of the co-workers in this undertaking. In our retrospective moments, when we think what we have been doing in the world and ask ourselves how life has gone with us thus far, there is nothing which more illuminates the past with cheering recollections than our humble efforts in behalf of Africa. It is in the hope of adding to that treasure—a treasure of which no mortal vicissitudes can ever deprive us; it is in the hope of communicating some additional impulse to a cause in which the destinies of unborn millions are so deeply involved; it is because conscience and God forbid us to be silent so long as our voice can be raised in behalf of such interests, that we urge on our readers these facts and arguments. If we may but awaken one mind to a lasting sympathy with our own enthusiasm; if we may but enlist in behalf of this cause one new efficient friend, it will not be in vain that we have snatched from intervals of relaxation, from hours of repose, and from the duties of a laborious and responsible calling the time which we have spent in this endeavor.”*

LEONARD WOOLSEY BACON.

* Quarterly Christian Spectator for 1830, p. 481.

THE AMERICAN NEGRO AND LIBERIA.

Newspaper reports and letters received in Liberia from our brethren in America show that the feeling between the races in the Southern States is rapidly growing worse.

Even in North Carolina, where all along the races have lived in almost ideal concord, notwithstanding politics, we hear of race riots, such as have never before occurred in that State. There it is surely not barbarism against intelligence. The disinterested observer can see clearly that there it is the determination of the Negro to demand and receive full recognition at law and equal, unquestioned political privileges, on the one hand, and the fear, on the other side, that the Negro influence in the State may gain the ascendancy.

One need not particularize. Those who did me the honor to read the first article I contributed to these pages can see that the leaven is already working. *Two equal, independent bodies cannot occupy the same space at the same time.* Water and oil cannot both be on top at the same time.

The great question now is, Has the American Negro developed sufficient manhood independence to leave America and found for himself an independent State of his own? Has he the spirit of the colonist? Is he manly enough to endure the privations which all nations have undergone in planting colonies? The history of the world shows that all colonies have undergone the hardships incident to settling a new country.

The same is true of Liberia. But there is no more hardship to be suffered here than was suffered by the whites in settling Virginia or Massachusetts, if history is true.

Unfortunately for Liberia, an opinion was early spread among our more intelligent people in America that Liberia was founded for the purpose of exiling the American Negro. It is time that idea was exploded.

Unfortunately, again, many recent immigrants have returned to America and spread all manner of exaggerated and false reports of the country and people.

From personal knowledge I can say that if those persons had had the true spirit of manhood and race pride, the money which

they reserved to pay return passage would have gone a long way to establish themselves in their homes on their own land in their own country, and by this date they would have been doing well, even as many of those are doing who preferred to remain here.

Those who returned had not developed the independent spirit. They yet needed the guiding hand of a master.

It remains to be said that the people of Liberia are hardly able to take and feed a large number of immigrants who come perfectly empty-handed.

I advise all who come to bring as much money as they can. If they can bring well-cured provisions it will be well. If they could have as much as \$100 worth of provisions or money for each member of the family, they could make that last until a crop is made. Very little work is required to raise potatoes, cassada, rice, eddoes, and corn, and chickens thrive well here, as well as other fowls and animals, such as goats and sheep.

Owing to the low price of coffee now, the people here are complaining of hard times; but the people are about as charitable as they are elsewhere, and there is hardly any danger of any starving. None have starved so far.

This fact is significant—that no one who has gone to work in earnest and settled himself on his land is now willing to go back to America.

The land here is all fertile. No fertilizing is necessary. Collards, cabbages, tomatoes, peas, and okra will all grow here.

Immigrants, however, should devote their attention to food supplies. There is land for all who come.

JULIUS C. STEVENS,
Attorney General of Liberia.

HOW THE BOERS TREAT THE NEGROES.

In the Dutch republics the English principle of equal civil rights for white and black finds no place. One of the motives which induced the Boers of 1836 to trek out of the Colony was their disgust at the establishment of such equality by the British government. The *Groundwet* (fundamental law) of the

Transvaal Republic declared in 1858, and declares today, that "the people will suffer no equality of whites and blacks, either in state or in church." Democratic republics are not necessarily respectful of what used to be called human rights, and neither the "principles of 1789" nor those of the Declaration of Independence find recognition among the Boers.

Both in the Transvaal and in the Orange Free State a native is forbidden to hold land and is not permitted to travel anywhere without a pass, in default of which he may be detained. (In the Free State, however, the sale of intoxicants to him is forbidden, and a somewhat similar law, long demanded by the mine-owners, has very recently been enacted in the Transvaal.) Nor can a native serve on a jury, whereas in Cape Colony he is legally qualified and sometimes is impaneled. The whites will occasionally object to his presence, but a large-minded and strong-minded judge manages to overcome their reluctance.

For a good while after they settled in the Transvaal the Boers had a system of apprenticing Kafir children which was with difficulty distinguishable from predial serfdom, and though they have constantly denied that they sanctioned either the kidnapping of children or the treatment of the apprentices as slaves, it seems probable that in some parts of the country these abuses did exist. The point, however, remains controverted, and it seems clear that no such practices are now legal.

Political rights have, of course, never been held by persons of color in either of the Dutch republics; nor has it ever been proposed to grant them. Boer public opinion would scout such an idea, for it reproaches the people of Cape Colony now with being "governed by black men" because the electoral franchise is there enjoyed by a few colored men.

In the two colonies the history of the matter is as follows: When representative government was established and the electoral franchise conferred upon the colonists in 1853, no color-line was drawn, and from that time onward a few black people have voted, though, of course, not many were qualified under the law to vote. Some years ago, however, the whites, and the Dutch party in particular, became uneasy at the strength of the colored element, though it did not vote solid, had no colored leaders, and was important only in a very few constituencies. Accordingly, an act was passed in 1892 establishing a combined edu-

cational and property qualification—that is to say, the ownership of a house or other building of the value of £75 (\$375) or upwards or the being in receipt of a salary of £50 (\$250) per annum, with the ability to sign one's name and write one's address and occupation. This act, which did not apply to those already registered in any particular district and claiming to be re-registered therein, is expected to keep down the number of colored voters, and as it applies to whites also, there is no inequality of treatment.

Tribal natives, of course, never had the franchise at all. Neither the natives—the most substantial and best educated among whom possess the qualifications required—nor their friends complain of this law, which may be defended on the ground that, while admitting those people of color whose intelligence fits them for the exercise of political power, it excludes a large mass whose ignorance and indifference to public questions would make them the victims of rich and unscrupulous candidates. It is, perhaps, less open to objection than some of the attempts recently made in the Southern States of America to evade the provisions of the amendments to the Federal Constitution under which Negroes obtained the suffrage. In Natal nearly all the Kafirs live under native law, and have thus been outside the representative system; but the governor has power to admit a Kafir to the suffrage, and this has been done in a few instances.

JAMES BRYCE.

LETTERS FROM LIBERIA.

RICKS INSTITUTE,

KIA-POOH, NEAR MONROVIA, *September 30, 1899.*

Mr. J. ORMOND WILSON,

Secretary American Colonization Society.

DEAR SIR: It may be interesting to you and other friends of Liberia to know that since the year 1876—twenty-three years ago—the Baptist Church in Liberia has had no special aid from any foreign boards of benevolent work, and yet, in point of

missionary and educational effort, it occupies a front rank in the country.

We fully recognize our responsibility as a Negro church, and whether we receive aid or not from abroad we feel that we are not absolved from doing our duty to our race and country; and while we have not done all that we might have done, still it is a source of gratification and thankfulness to know that we are sensible of our responsibility and obligation, and are willing to do our little for the amelioration of the condition of our fatherland; for we recognize the fact that if Liberia is to enjoy independence in the fullest sense, her own sons and daughters are to be agents to effect it.

We have much discouragement to contend with in conducting our work, owing to comparative poverty and the lack of a proper conception of the line of work to pursue on the part of some, but these do not and cannot influence us to relinquish the work, for we believe all will come right as we advance and grow.

Although Liberia is seventy-eight years old, still she may yet be considered a young nation in more respects than one. Old in age, but young in judgment and racial work. And this arises from the fact that we are slow to realize the truth that we are not Europeans, and, being of a separate and distinct race, that our lines of national and religious development do not in every respect accord with those lines which have contributed to the greatness of America and Europe.

Notwithstanding we are American in effort and yet so very un-American in result, we still seem slow to realize the fact, and (to use the military term) to "right about face" and form line on a base more adapted to our peculiar circumstances and natural tendency. And this shortsightedness is owing to the training that we have had. But notwithstanding all, we are coming, surely coming, and the American Colonization Society—the organized expression of American Christian philanthropy for the Negro, which has contributed so much of precious lives and valuable treasure in fostering us, may not despair, for the people are getting right and the Government is getting right.

Very respectfully yours,

ROBT B. RICHARDSON, *Principal.*

MONROVIA, LIBERIA, *October 4, 1899.*

Mr. J. ORMOND WILSON,

Secretary American Colonization Society,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I send herewith my report for the quarter ended September 30, 1899.

I am able to make a better showing in the amount of sales of books.

There is not much in the way of news to write. Our court of quarter sessions and common pleas for Montserrado county has just closed its session.

The President went up the St. Paul river on Saturday to Clay Ashland, his home. Dr. H. J. Moore, Secretary of the Interior, with commissioners, is up in the interior country to adjust matters with the natives.

I mailed you a copy of "The New Africa," the Methodist monthly, edited by Rev. A. P. Camphor, under the auspices of the College of West Africa. It is quite popular here, and apparently has a bright future. "The Recorder" and the "Baptist Monitor" are regularly published, as well as the "Cape Palmas Reporter."

A great revival of religion is in progress in Monrovia and up the river.

A good sign of better thinking among farmers is shown in the fact that small quantities of corn meal are offered for sale in town. Mr. H. B. Hayes, teacher at Brewerville, informed me that the citizens of that place had called a meeting to consider the advantage of planting more food-stuffs, since the price of coffee is so low.

Cassada is now selling at less than half the price for the same season last year, which is another good sign. Liberia ought to export rather than import food supplies.

Very respectfully,

JULIUS C. STEVENS,

Agent American Colonization Society.

MONROVIA, LIBERIA, *January 2, 1900.*

Mr. J. ORMOND WILSON,

Secretary American Colonization Society.

DEAR SIR: The legislature is in session. I have introduced two important measures—a concise criminal code and an election registration act. I hope when I write again to be able to inform you of an important step taken to improve common-school education, and that I am at last in my proper work. It is proposed to establish a bureau of education, and I am suggested for its head. As soon as that is done I leave the office of attorney general and get to my own work. Sometimes we have to work to our point by a roundabout way.

Rev. Morris, of the United States of America, is now in Monrovia. In Liberia he is the guest of Rev. Dr. R. B. Richardson, of Ricks Institute. I met him last night at the executive inaugural reception. He expresses himself as well pleased and even surprised to find Liberia as attractive and prosperous as it is.

President Coleman was inaugurated yesterday. The supreme court convenes next Monday.

Very respectfully,

JULIUS C. STEVENS.

MONROVIA, LIBERIA, *January 5, 1900.*

Mr. J. ORMOND WILSON,

Secretary American Colonization Society.

DEAR SIR: The National Legislature of the Republic of Liberia was assembled December 4, 1899. Hon. R. H. Jackson, Senator of Montserrado county, was elected President of the Senate.

This is a very important session of the Legislature, and many new and highly important bills are before the Government this year, which will mean much for our future life as an independent nation.

A full account will be given in my next letter.

His Excellency the President, Hon. William D. Coleman, was very successfully inaugurated President of the Republic of Liberia for the second term January 1, 1900.

I have the honor to inform you and the American Colonization Society that I was unanimously elected Secretary of the

Senate of the Republic of Liberia Monday, December 4, 1899.

Vice-President J. J. Ross, of Sinoe county, died October 24, 1899, at his home. Senator R. H. Jackson, of Montserrado county, is acting Vice-President for the Republic of Liberia.

Very respectfully,

P. O. GRAY.

MONROVIA, LIBERIA, *February 20, 1900.*

MR. J. ORMOND WILSON,

Secretary American Colonization Society.

DEAR SIR: I have delayed rather longer than usual in making my quarterly report, because I was waiting the result of a measure pending in the Legislature touching education. It has passed, things have turned out as I desired, and now I can write.

I will, later on, send you a copy of an act creating a bureau of education. It provides for a General Superintendent of Common Schools. The first idea was to make it a cabinet office, but later it was thought better to remove it as far as possible from politics. So I am no longer Attorney General, but I am General Superintendent of Common Schools.

It is interesting to look back and see how one arrives at his desired position. I belong to the work of education, yet I was forced away from my work and made Attorney General. I was fearful of failure in that office, yet no one thinks I have at all failed; indeed, many think I ought to have remained in that office. I have compiled a criminal code and prepared a registration election act. They have both passed the Legislature and become laws.

I cannot regret, either, having accompanied Mr. Barclay to England and assisted in arranging the loan of 1871. That matter is now in a fairly good condition. Now, I think I can turn to my own work.

The Liberia College is resuming work and depending on home support. Rev. G. W. Gibson is president. Dr. Blyden is at home and will be one of the chief professors. Col. A. D. Williams, with assistants, has the preparatory department. I have been assigned a chair, but I do not think I can serve. The spirit is to depend upon home support to a large extent. If any help comes from America, all right; if not, still all right.

Touching the visit of the *Montgomery*. It is true we had a visit, and Monrovia was much rejoiced to see once more the United States flag in port. The captain and suite were properly entertained by the President, and we felt much better afterward.

Your obedient servant,

JULIUS C. STEVENS,
Agent American Colonization Society.

PRESIDENTS OF LIBERIA.

Joseph Jenkins Roberts.....	1848 to 1856
Stephen Allen Benson.....	1856 to 1864
Daniel Bashiel Warner.....	1864 to 1868
James Spriggs Payne.....	1868 to 1870
Edward James Roye.....	1870 to 1872
Joseph Jenkins Roberts.....	1872 to 1876
James Spriggs Payne.....	1876 to 1878
Anthony William Gardner.....	1878 to 1884
Hilary Richard Wright Johnson.....	1884 to 1892
Joseph James Cheeseman.....	1892 to 1898
William David Coleman.....	1898 to —

On the 26th day of July, 1847, Liberia declared her independence and adopted a Constitution which makes two years the term of office for the President. She has had nine Presidents, of whom seven were emigrants from the United States and two were natives of Liberia. The first President was inaugurated January 3, 1848, and the present administration is the twenty-seventh. President Roberts was elected six times; President Benson and President Johnson each four times; President Gardner and President Cheeseman each three times; President Warner, President Payne, and President Coleman each twice, and President Roye once. President Roye was deposed by impeachment October 26, 1871, and Vice-president James S. Smith assumed the Presidency and completed the term. President Gardner resigned on account of ill-health January 20, 1883, and Vice-president Alfred F. Russell assumed the Presidency and completed the term. President Cheeseman died Novem-

ber 12, 1896, and Vice-president William David Coleman assumed the Presidency and completed the term. President Roberts, when first elected to the Presidency, was 38 years old ; President Benson, 38 ; President Warner, 48 ; President Payne, 48 ; President Royce, 54 ; President Gardner, 57 ; President Johnson, 46 ; President Cheeseman, 48, and President Coleman, 54. The Constitution requires that the election of President "shall be held in the respective towns on the first Tuesday in May, in every two years," and the elections are held in the odd years.

FRENCH CONQUESTS IN AFRICA.

The whole subject of the French conquests in Africa is an exceedingly interesting one, and one I would gladly linger over, for there is in it that fascination that always lies in a subject which contains an element of mystery. The element of mystery in this affair is why France should have persisted so in the matter, why she should have spent blood and money on it to the extent she has, does, and I am sure will continue to do, without its ever having paid her in the past or paying her now or being likely to pay her in the future; as far as one can see. There are moments when it seems to me clear enough why she has done it all, but these moments only come when I am in an atmosphere reeking of *La Gloire* or *La France*, a thing I own I much enjoy ; but when I am back in the cold intellectual grayness of commercial England, France's conduct in Africa certainly seems a little strange and curious and far more inexplicable than it was when one was one's self personally risking one's life and ruining one's clothes after a beetle in the African bush. I really think it is this sporting instinct in me that enables me to understand France in Africa at all, and which gives me a thrill of pleasure when I read in the newspapers of her iniquitous conduct in turning up, flag and baggage, in places where she had no legal right to be, or, worse still, being found in possession of bits of other nation's hinterland when a representative of the other arrives there with the intention of discovering it, and to his disgust and alarm finds the most prominent object in the landscape is the blue to the mast, blood to the last, flag of France,

with a fire-and-flames Frenchman under it, possessed of a pretty gift of writing communications to the real owner of that hinterland—a respectable representative of England or Germany—communications threatening him with immediate extinction and calling him a filibuster and an assassin, and things like that. For the life of me I cannot help a “Go it, Sall, and I’ll hold your bonnit” feeling toward the Frenchman. It is not my fault entirely. Gladly would I hold my own countryman’s bonnet, only he won’t go it if I do, so I have to content myself with the knowledge that England has made the West Coast pay, and that she certainly did beat the Dutch and Portuguese off the coast in a commercial war. Still, she will never beat France off in that way, because the French interest in Africa is not a commercial one. France can and will injure our commerce in West Africa; in all probability she will ultimately extinguish it, if things go on as they are going, while we cannot hit back and injure her commercial prosperity there because she has none to injure.—*Mary H. Kingsley in West African Studies.*

AMERICAN COTTON GOODS IN WEST AFRICA.

Few of our manufacturers of cotton goods think of the possibility of introducing their products into the vast stretch of West Africa, yet there is a promising opening here for them. With the enlargement of our plants and the improvement of machinery for the manufacture of cotton goods, there should also be increased effort to secure a trade footing in the tropical countries, as more cotton fabrics are used as clothing here than any other kind of goods. Tropical markets such as this coast presents will be consumers for generations to come. European firms show much activity in seeking to secure and control this trade. Their policy is not so much to make enormous profits now as to gain trade advantages for the future.

Africa, like China, is the land of the “teeming millions,” and as the natives are brought into contact with Europeans they are rapidly acquiring the habits and customs of civilization and becoming large consumers of dry goods.

Great quantities of prints, sheetings, shirtings, etc., are daily transported to the interior towns and villages by native carriers,

by canoes, and sailing craft of every kind. These goods are largely imported from England, France, and Germany, whose manufacturers cater to native fancy and taste in certain lines of goods. In addition, the representatives of these firms have the advantage of long acquaintance with the African, and have made local business arrangements that please the natives, employing them in the capacity of clerks, book-keepers, etc., and thus keeping their goods constantly before the mass of native dealers.

The African, as a rule, is proud. He despises rags and places a premium upon good material. The native merchants, besides being shrewd traders, are excellent judges of dry goods, especially of the durability of fabrics of any kind. Being familiar with climatic conditions, they know what suits their trade, and that only will they buy. The low price of an article, if it is not suited to their taste, is no inducement to buy. It is simply what is wanted that sells. Nothing but the best goods for the cheapest money value should be sent here. Coarse cotton fabrics would not sell well; checks, ginghams, unbleached domestics, etc., are considered too common. On the other hand, satins, prints, muslins, madras, karkis, sheetings and shirtings, and various other classes of cotton goods would be popular if of good finish and attractive colors. Any modification of blue and white or blue and black in prints or satins would please.

With the growth of American trade in competition with that of other nations, our manufacturers should pay more attention to making goods for export, according to the requirements of the trade sought. Attention given to these details, together with our extensive facilities for superior work, will enable us to win.

The traditions of the African race should not be ignored in manufacturing for this market. For example, certain animals, trees, plants, vines, and even seashells are held in great respect by the natives, having been worshiped by their ancestors. The present generation does not forget these traditions, though many are educated and enjoy the advantages of civilization.

It is by observing these points that the European exporters have gained such footing in African trade. No doubt in many instances their goods are inferior to our own in durability, starch taking the place of body, yet they sell because African and not European ideas are respected in the design and manufacture of the goods.

Credit would not be a great inducement except to European houses, as the terms of trade here are generally cash. American goods of all classes would have a better show in this market if there were direct communication between the United States and this coast.

There is now a spirit of keen mercantile rivalry among the nations seeking this trade, but there is encouragement for American dealers to compete if they will make the necessary efforts along the lines suggested. There are no discriminating tariffs, no restrictive legislation with which to contend. Aside from the 10 per cent. ad valorem duty, this is practically an open field, and with more energy on the part of our exporters of cotton goods their products can find a good market in West Africa.—*John T. Williams, Consul at Sierra Leone, in United States Consular Reports, January, 1900.*

ITEMS.

THE NEGRO IN BUSINESS.—We have been favored with a copy of the "Negro in Business," the latest of the studies of the Atlanta Conference, published by the Atlanta University. The studies previously published are: 1896, "The Mortality of Negroes in Cities;" 1897, "General Social and Physical Condition of 5,000 Negroes Living in Selected Parts of Certain Southern Cities;" 1898, "Some Efforts of American Negroes for their Own Social Betterment."

It is needless to say that these studies are all interesting, and if taken with proper allowances for insufficient data, caused by insufficient means to obtain them, have a certain suggestive and social value.

Because of its character the present study suffers more from the lack of means to cover large statistical areas than those which have preceded it, and consequently some of the "estimates" which have been indulged in are not of great value. Where the study is confined to a limited area and a definite number, its value would seem much greater than the census returns of 1890, which contain many obvious, if unavoidable, errors in classification.

In table No 1 the study covers the individual returns from 1,906 business men (a business man in the present classification includes "all with stocks of goods to sell, and also all other persons who have at least \$500 capital invested"), of whom 218 are reported at the North and east of the Mississippi, 1,281 at the South and east of the Mississippi, and 407 west of the Mississippi.

Of the States thus partially canvassed, Georgia has the largest number, 324; Indiana the smallest, 4, and Massachusetts claims 14.

But, as before suggested, these figures are of no comparative value, as the Middle South was more thoroughly canvassed.

Of the 1,906 thus individually reported, the grocers represent 22.50 per cent.; general merchandise dealers, 8 + per cent.; barbers (over \$500 invested), 8 + per cent.; saloon and restaurant keepers, 6.75 per cent.; market gardeners and planters, one-third of 1 per cent..

Following the barbers, the most numerous classes are the publishers and job printers and the undertakers, "a line of business in which the Negro has great success." "The demand for pomp and display at funerals has compelled these undertakers to equip their establishments unusually well, and 23 of those reported have each over \$5,000 in capital invested." The least in number are the milliners and the feed and fruit dealers.

Perhaps the most instructive way of studying these businesses is in the light of their evolution from former economic conditions.

For example, it is easy to see how the barber, the caterer, and the restaurant-keeper are the direct economic progeny of the house servant, just as the market gardener and saw-mill proprietor and florist descend from the field hand, and the builders, blacksmiths, and other similar vocations from the plantation mechanic class.

Sixty of the 162 barbers have invested from \$500 to \$1,000, sixty-three from \$1,000 to \$2,500, twelve from \$2,500 to \$5,000, and three from \$5,000 to \$10,000. Five of the caterers claim from \$2,500 to \$5,000, four from \$5,000 to \$10,000, and two from \$10,000 to \$50,000.

"The caterers, barbers, and stewards were formerly leaders in all social movements among the Negroes, and held the major part of the accumulated wealth. Lately, however, these classes have lost ground.

"The barbering business has fallen into discredit, partly because it had so long the stigma of race attached, nearly all barbers being Negroes, and more especially because the Negro barber is compelled to draw the color line."

Thirty-two per cent. of the grocers and general merchants have under \$500 invested, 30 per cent. from \$500 to \$1,000, and 31 per cent. from \$1,000 to \$2,500.

"The great industrial schools are trying to make the smaller trades and manufactures their especial field of work, and eventually their efforts will undoubtedly bear fruit. As yet, however, there is little trace of this movement."

The Negroes are, however, in a feeble way represented in most of the common vocations, including one cotton gin, one cotton mill, and one foundry. Upon the relation of education to these pursuits the data are insufficient to form an opinion upon. I find, however, that of 185 business men especially inquired of, 22 per cent. were graduates of industrial or high schools, 36 per cent. of common schools, and 12 per cent. had little or no education. Of twenty-five business men in Atlanta, one was

a college graduate, nine of the common school, twelve could only read and write, and three had no education whatever.

Among the hindrances to the economic progress of the Negro mentioned in this study we find the following:

The crop-lien system.

The exclusion of the Negro from the commercial clubs.

Ignorance of book-keeping.

Envy and distrust of each other.

The preference for dealing with white merchants.

Having more friends among the white than the colored people.

The fact that "Negroes will walk three blocks to trade with a white man when there is a Negro next door," etc., etc.

From this study we derive the impression that while progress is being made, it is limited in degree, and that "the economic emancipation of the Negro is still far distant." There is still "no trace of domestic manufactures of any sort."

"There is not among all these millions any far-reaching movement to encourage and facilitate saving. The national crime perpetrated in the mismanagement of the Freedman's Bank had widespread influence in discouraging the saving habit," and "while there is considerable saving and invested money, yet extravagance and carelessness in expenditure are still characteristic of the race."

"To some extent the whites are crowding the Negroes out of such employments as porters, ditchers, newsboys, elevator boys, which were once their exclusive property, to say nothing of the higher-grade occupations of bricklaying and carpentering," a movement which seems likely to continue.

The Negro unfortunately lacks inherited technic capacity, application, observation, and perseverance—temporary misfortunes, if you will, belonging to his status, which at the time incapacitate him for the finer mechanical employments, and as a race, a man, and a citizen in his present cultural stage he is, in John Ruskin's phrase, somewhat "undiligent and effectless."

As "the social development and economic emancipation of the millions of field hands has scarcely begun," this study serves to emphasize the conviction that our uplifting energies in behalf of the Negro should be more particularly devoted to giving the neglected masses elementary instruction in agriculture by scientific methods, as agriculture will prove to be in the future, as in the past, the great economic stronghold and the foundation of all culture in the Negro, as it is and has been in all other races.

G. R. S.

A REMINISCENCE OF THE SHIP "ELIZABETH," THE "MAYFLOWER" OF LIBERIA.—Parton's life of the far-famed Cornelius Vanderbilt gives the following account of a very interesting historical event to Liberians:

"A little incident of these years he has sometimes related to his children.

"In the cold January of 1820 the ship *Elizabeth*, the first ship ever sent to Africa by the Colonization Society, lay at the foot of Rector street, with the Negroes all on board, frozen in. For many days her crew, aided by the crew of the frigate *Cyane*, her convoy, had been cutting away at the ice, but as more ice formed at night than could be removed by day, the prospect of getting to sea was unpromising. One afternoon Captain Vanderbilt joined the crowd of spectators.

" 'They are going the wrong way to work,' he carelessly remarked, as he turned to go home. 'I could get her out in one day.'

"These words, from a man who was known to mean all he said, made an impression on a bystander, who reported them to the anxious agent of the Society. The agent called upon him.

" 'What did you mean, Captain, by saying that you could get out the ship in one day?'

" 'Just what I said.'

" 'What will you get her out for?'

" 'One hundred dollars.'

" 'I'll give it. When will you do it?'

" 'Have a steamer tomorrow at 12 o'clock, ready to tow her out. I'll have her clear in time.'

"That same evening at six he was on the spot with five men, three pine boards, and a small anchor. The difficulty was that beyond the ship there were two hundred yards of ice too thin to bear a man. The captain placed his anchor on one of his boards and pushed it out as far as he could reach; then placed another board upon the ice, laid down upon it, and gave his anchor another push. Then he put down his third board, and used that as a means of propulsion. In this way he worked forward to near the edge of the thin ice, where the anchor broke through and sunk. With the line attached to it he hauled a boat to the outer edge, and then began cutting a passage for the ship. At eleven the next morning she was clear. At twelve she was towed into the stream."

THE SANITARY CONDITION OF MONROVIA.—What we need is plenty of sunken wells, 20 to 60 feet deep, that will give our city a large supply of pure water, free from death-destroying matter. The deeper the well the purer the water. It is a pity that we cannot have a few artesian wells to supply us with the purest water.

Another consideration which should claim the attention of all is unsound food. Numerous are the evils which arise to a community by eating unsound animal food. There are those who have no scruples in selling meat which is wholly unfit for food, and the rich as well as the poor eagerly clutch at it, thinking only of getting fresh meat to eat. No animal should be slaughtered which is not pronounced by the inspector to be in a sound and healthy condition, and if this suggestion is carried out it would prevent a great deal of sickness and bring about a more healthy state in the community.

I have often thought while walking up and down our streets how much wealth our people fail to notice. Everywhere you go you can pick up bones, rags, paper, etc., by the cart-loads. These would make any one rich in any other country except Liberia. We have here wagon-loads of filth and dirt that would bring thousands of dollars into our city treasury. The city of Paris pays \$600,000 yearly for the cleansing of her streets, and the company that undertakes the job clears over \$800,000. So you see there is money in the filth and dirt lying in our streets.

My last point is that something should be done to prevent the overcrowding of people in their houses at Krootown. It is a lamentable sight to behold the low, damp, and badly ventilated huts into which these people are compelled by stern necessity to huddle. It is from these miserable places that dangerous diseases arise and, impregnating the air, spread disease and death everywhere. Those poorly ventilated huts, without any sanitary convenience whatever, with sometimes 40 or 50 persons crowded into one small house, are not only propagating disease, but extinguishing every moral principle of the soul.

Would it not pay some of our wealthy people to build good, airy tenement-houses of ten or twelve rooms at Krootown and rent them to the people at reasonable rates? Can you think of anything that would pay quicker and better?

It is in vain that we deplore the shortness of life and bewail the ills that flesh is heir to while we neglect the means that God has placed in our hands for the preservation of health and the prevention of disease.

We understand very little of the laws of ventilation; for while we have some buildings in our city that might be cited as models of architectural beauty, yet there are only a few that are well ventilated.

And still we are satisfied with the shadow of what is excellent, wasting immense sums of money and human life, making a mere show. Let us make one honest effort to do better in every way and Monrovia will become a healthful city.—*Robert T. Sherman, of Monrovia, Liberia.*

THE GRAVEST EVILS NOTICEABLE IN LIBERIA today are the too free use of the foreign necessities of life—food, clothing, and medicines—by all the people. Now, the welfare of the race as well as the health of the nation—the healthier the wealthier is the rule—depend upon a sentiment which maintains and exalts the physical well-being.

We eat too much foreign food. We imitate too closely and unnaturally the dress of Europeans. We use too many of the heavy mineral drugs, suited only to cold climates and cold-blooded peoples, unadvisedly.

Rice truly is indigenous to our soil, but the original inhabitants of the land never lived on this their own product solely. They raised and ate also maize, millet, guinea-corn, peas, and yams. Now the entire country feeds upon Asiatic rice. I am also credibly informed that this evil has

also crept into Sierra Leone and Lagos—in fact, along the entire West Coast of Africa. In these economic and racial questions our scope should never be bounded by the natural limits of our own dear land, for the conglomerate Negro on the West Coast of Africa is one and the same wherever he may be found, fighting for space, place, and power in the fatherland among alien races.

Liberia from time immemorial has been known to all the old travelers, discoverers, and chart-makers of history as the grain and ivory coast. Today we raise a cheaper and a better (because more nutritious) quality of rice in the country than that which we import. At the present, by careful calculation, at least one-third of the earnings of the entire laboring classes goes for white rice, when every penny of that money might be really saved and invested at home.

And a most important fact to be noticed, too, about a purely rice diet is that it effeminates and weakens races; it prepares them for and keeps them in a voluntary state of vassalage and protection; it makes them fit subjects to be ruled over, but not to rule. Look at China, India, Japan, and our own vast Fatherland. The observation tells its own tale. We have always been of the opinion that our Interior Bureau should have also included that of agriculture, for everything in this land points to the fact that this is to become a great agricultural and mining nation.

The Department of Agriculture in the United States of America has worked wonders for that great and prosperous country in recent years in distributing seeds and seed plants, pointing out to the humble farmer better and improved methods of cultivation, in protecting the forests, encouraging tree-planting, supporting experimental stations, and studying the nature and habits of the birds and insects, the great enemies of the thrifty farmer. We would like to see our Department of the Interior covering that also of agriculture. We cannot neglect this important subject much longer, especially if we are likely to have many more returns of such coffee crops and prices as of the season now closing.

It is notorious, and should go without argument, that our clothes do not become us in this hot climate. We are little Davids in Saul's armor, hampered and imprisoned. The graceful, flowing robes and the draping vestments of the Veys, Mandingoes, Fulahs, Houssas, Yorubahs (like the old Romans and Greeks in the warm and sunny parts of Europe), with modifications, and possibly a few additions, would become us much better, and, above all, there would be something distinctly racial about it; it would represent national individuality. And suppose our ladies should expend their talent, taste, and ingenuity in dressing and adorning the hair naturally and not in distorting the body, then would the happy acme of rational dress reform be attained for the West Coast of Africa. Possibly some of our sisters may not have heard that some years ago—not many, either—the most fashionable mode of dressing hair in Paris was *à la mode l'Africaine*.

The want of a proper knowledge of the local *materia medica* and phar-

macy has largely contributed to the heavy death rate on the West Coast of Africa, especially in former years.

It takes years of experience and trial and practice in the changed climate before the European physician learns to adapt his accustomed remedies to the new climatic and physiological conditions. The oldest, wisest, and most successful African doctors say this, and advise a thorough reorganization of the system for the West Coast of Africa. The late learned Dr. Africanus Horton, a pure Negro, spent much time and pains in this labor of love. Nature has provided certain herbs which serve as remedies for such disorders as prevail in the country. Some of these herbs are already well known and used, and they frequently prove more efficacious than the high-priced drugs from Europe and America.

Our greatest perils at present lie in our interior and from our aboriginal brethren. We need not indulge any present fears in the direction of the French and English. We hold our future in our own hands, with everything plain before us. The aborigines and we should be one, now and forever; and we should incorporate them into the body politic even before they are dressed in European clothes. They are a fiery writing upon the wall which he who runs may read.

If you could have seen them as I have in our interior, dwelling in walled towns, with regular weekly markets, attending school and mosque, weaving and fashioning their own garments, hats, caps, and sandals, making their own household utensils and tools, working in copper and gold, leather and iron, surrounded by their flocks and herds, I do not think that you would hesitate very long on the question whether they should be brought into the body politic now or still wait till they become Europeanized. My own personal experience extends only over sixteen years, but I am quite sure that it holds good for our hinterland, especially as we approach the coterminous lines of the French and English in the east and northwest, and these stalwart sons of Ham on the broad and expansive plains of Manding and Musardu are waiting patiently to shake hands with their wandering black brother from the sea. Most European travelers in Africa give to the world the wrong or the reverse idea of how the black and white civilized races impress the inland aboriginal African in his national habitat. He looks upon the black civilized man as a brother and friend gone astray and in bad company, yet a fellow-man; but invariably he regards the white man as a spirit, a ghost, an unearthly being, and something in the nature of a witch. It is in this way only that he fears him.—*Alfred B. King.*

COFFEE IN JAMAICA.—Consul Dent transmits from Kingston, under date of April 25, 1899, a letter to a Connecticut correspondent, containing a short report on coffee, prepared by a well-known planter in the island, as follows:

"I have been coffee-planting for the last twenty years, and during that time I have twice seen a fluctuation of prices of 60 per cent., and the

average prices I have realized have varied from 89s. 6d. to 42s. per cwt. (\$21.78 to \$10.22 per 112 pounds). This large difference in values, combined with a very great uncertainty as to crops—these being dependent upon the proper distribution of the rainfall and not upon the cultivation—makes coffee-planting difficult. When I say the crop is not dependent on the cultivation, I mean that however good the cultivation may be, without proper weather there will be no crop. With practically the same acreage as now—*i. e.*, 330 acres—my crops have ranged from 22 casks of 850 pounds to (in one year) 154 casks. The best seasons may be said to be: a dry January and February to rest the trees after the previous crop; showers to bring out blossoms—the best is a general bloom in April; then good rains in May, and a not too hot July and August. If the latter months are hot the crop is likely to be burnt before it is mature. The low prices are attributable to the immense production of coffee in Brazil.

“When once coffee-growing is well established 4 cwt. (448 pounds) per acre may be expected, and this return should last for fifteen years at least. It may vary considerably from year to year. Thus, after a very heavy crop, say 6 cwt. (672 pounds), or even 7 cwt. (784 pounds) per acre, the return would be proportionately small. Still 4 cwt. per acre should be about the return in good land, and without fertilizers should last fifteen years. In this part of the island we expect coffee to bear for twenty years after the first bearing, say twenty-five years from the time of planting.

“Speaking roughly, the cost of land, fencing, planting, cultivation, and all other charges should come to £15 (\$73) per acre by the end of the fifth year—that is, the year when one may reasonably expect a crop. A small crop would be reaped possibly the third or fourth year, but it is not good for the trees. I think that a fair estimate of the cultivation, reaping, and curing of the crop per acre, including 10 per cent. for supervision and 10 per cent. for extras, is £5 (\$24.33) for a return of 4 cwt. of clean coffee fit for sale.

“The price of land varies very much; but, generally speaking, £1 (\$4.8665) an acre has been considered fair value. Of course, there are lands to be had at much lower prices; the government lands sell at about 5s. (\$1.22) per acre. In short, there is no regular price, values being determined by the situation. It would be useless to undertake coffee-planting unless there is plenty of labor, as much is needed for weeding, pruning, and reaping.

“As to the price of land in coffee, I should imagine that about £20 (\$97.33) an acre for old and £30 (\$146) for young coffee would satisfy most people.

“Rye crops could not be planted between the rows of coffee trees, though orange trees might be planted at this altitude (2,200 feet) in place of other shade trees. During the first three years some sort of shade is necessary, and it is the custom to plant yams, cassava, cocoa, etc.; but

this should be done sparingly, as undergrowth is not good for the trees.

"The climate here has averaged 72° F. in the shade for years. In the summer it rarely goes above 80° F. We have two rainy seasons—one in May and one in October.

"It is always healthy in the coffee-growing districts, as the best altitude for that industry is between 2,000 and 4,000 feet.

"In this parish (Manchester) we are dependent for our water supply on rain caught in tanks."—*United States Consular Reports*.

PLAN FOR CONTROLLING COFFEE MARKET.—Minister Loomis writes from Caracas, June 3, 1899:

"I inclose an article from the *Venezuelan Herald*, published in this city, which sets forth a plan for controlling the coffee output of the New World.

"The project is interesting as an evidence of the hard straits in which coffee-growers in this and some other countries find themselves by reason of the extremely low price which their product commands.

"Unless the price of coffee is advanced considerably within a year or two, a great many estates will have to be abandoned and the attention of the owners given to the cultivation of more profitable crops:

"The late Senor M. J. Olavarria advanced a proposition for the formation of a league of all the coffee-producing countries with the object of controlling the price of coffee. He estimated that the coffee-producers of the Latin-American republics, under the conditions prevailing, are losing about \$16,000,000 per year, of which about one-half falls upon the Brazilian producers. Calculating the total production of the world at 13,000,000 bags of 132 pounds each and the consumption at 12,000,000 bags, Mr. Olavarria considered that the fall in price is due to overproduction. He appealed to the government of Venezuela to take the initiative by inviting the governments of other American producing countries to a conference, with the view to the formation of a coffee combination. The duties of this conference will be the restriction of the output, the formation of a central committee to control the sales, the imposing of a general export duty of five francs (\$1) per bag (the proceeds to be applied to buying up the surplus exports), and generally the adoption of measures to increase consumption and decrease import duties on coffee in other countries. The production for all markets is to be restricted to 10,500,000 bags per annum, of which Brazil shall be permitted to export 6,600,000 bags, and the remainder is to be divided among all other countries."—*U. S. Consular Reports*.

RAILWAYS IN AFRICA.—Consul Skinner sends the following from Marseilles, November 2, 1899:

"The competition in Africa elicits a strongly supported demand in France for the more rapid building of railways, and particularly for the

construction of a trans-Saharan line. This project is designed as a sort of offset to the British 'Cairo-to-the-Cape' enterprise, and the one is not much more advanced than the other. The Marseilles chamber of commerce, in a report to the minister of commerce, says: 'The question whether the railways will pay is not to be considered.' It declares that France, having laid hands upon points 1,200 and 1,800 miles from the sea, must establish a connection or lose the fruit of its labor. While reiterating that the doubtful element of future profit must not hinder actual work, the intimation is held out that a profitable traffic can be built up. The Belgian Kongo region is cited as an example. The railway from Stanley Pool to the sea, 249 miles long, was fully completed in May, 1898, and 62 miles were in operation as early as 1896. The total capital and bonds amount to \$12,545,000, and the present monthly receipts are \$193,000. The commercial movement has increased from \$3,406,450 in this colony in 1893 to \$9,746,500 in 1898. The principal business is in caoutchouc, a product that is firm in price and even advancing, while the general trend of prices of other products is downward. It is contended that the French colonies in Africa are veritable mines of rubber, and need only means of transportation to bring about highly prosperous conditions.

"The interest in railway building cannot fail to impress the American observer as pointing to a long continuance in the demand for iron and steel, and serves also as a lesson upon the best method of settling our newly acquired spheres of influence. What has been already done and what is projected in Africa may be gleaned from the following:

District.	Railway completed.	Building, surveyed, and definitely projected.
	<i>Miles.</i>	<i>Miles.</i>
Tunis-Algeria.....	2,361	690
Senegal-Sudan.....	276	224
French Guinea.....		342
British Guinea.....	35	163
Ivory Coast.....		280
Gold Coast.....	42	82
Dahomey.....		497
Lagos.....	43	143
Belgian Kongo.....	249	1,243
Portuguese Kongo.....	221	
German West Africa.....	72	363
Cape Colony.....	4,350	
Uganda.....	288	644
Madagascar.....		249
Total.....	7,937	4,920"

A DAY'S OUTING UP THE MONTERRADO RIVER.—The Methodist Episcopal Sunday school, under its progressive superintendent, Mr. D. E. Howard, and his able corps of teachers and officers, gave a day's outing, so that Bishop Hartzell might have the pleasure of sight-seeing up the Monterrado river, at Mr. T. W. Howard's farm. The bishop and faculty of the College of West Africa and Mrs. Dr. Day, of Muhlenburg Mission, were invited by His Excellency the President to accompany him in his boat. After being rowed by seven strong Kroomen for three-quarters of an hour we reached the landing place, which was about a mile and a half from the desired spot.

The palm grove and pineapple fields through which we walked are unsurpassed for beauty. Rich foliage, luxuriant vegetation, and deep-tangled vines clinging here and there, united to make the scene picturesque and the morning walk delightful.

The fiddler-crabs running to and fro in the bushes as we approached them attracted our attention. They were lying in our paths, and Mr. Howard caught one, to the amusement of us all. The most observant in the company noted that these curious little creatures have one large and one small claw. They walk sideways and hold up the larger claw in a threatening manner, especially when you are about to make encroachments upon them. Their homes are holes, which they dig in the earth. It was interesting to notice the caution with which they enter their holes. First they run to them, and, pausing as they reach the entrance, they look around as if to see whether you still persist in your pursuit. If so, they dart quickly down, remaining longer than you can afford to wait.

The male crab is a great fighter. The frequent use of his right claw in combats develops it so that you are able to distinguish the male from the female crab, whose right claw is smaller and weaker. The female crab does not fight.

It was interesting as we passed through the native villages to see the people making palm oil and the abundance of nuts they gather for that purpose. To see them in pursuit of their daily duties—some doing one thing and some another, but by far the majority doing nothing—is not uninteresting.

After walking perhaps half an hour we finally reached the place of reception, where comfortable seats had been prepared under an unique thatch arbor. After resting a while a breakfast of chicken, ham, mutton, and beef was served. This was very much enjoyed by all after the long walk. Delicious cocoanut water was served. It was a refreshing drink.

Mr. Howard then took the party to look at the farm and to see a man climb a tall palm tree. He ascended the tree with great ease, displaying his skill, much to the admiration of the crowd that clustered about the tree. He walked up the tree with the aid of a stout vine, which encircled both his own body and the trunk of the tree. As he ascended, step by step, he simply raised the band higher and higher up the tree, keeping pace with his steps, till he reached the palm nuts, which hung in

great clusters. Cutting the first bunch, it fell like a log on the ground. The crowd helped themselves to palm nuts. Some of these were roasted and served with salt. Oysters, too, gathered from the river, were roasted. These are found hanging in clusters to the roots of mango trees, which grow all along the banks of the river. The oysters were very palatable. The natives are very fond of them.

It was announced that we would be treated to a "devil play." Mr. Howard has a "devil bush" on his farm. It was organized by the natives with his permission. The announcement of this entertainment made the children scamper. Many of them were seen crying and running to their elder friends for protection. In the distance were heard strange sounds, which were caused by the approaching mysterious party. The scene was one that our pen cannot justly describe. "The devil," who was a woman, was completely masked, with a heavy suit of hair hanging down. Only her feet were exposed. She resembled an old shaggy bear more than anything else, but the most striking thing was the mask which covered the head. It had two faces—one before and one behind—and carved with the most artistic design and precision. It resembled nothing modern, but recalled the pictures of masks and helmits used by the most ancient peoples. A thorough knowledge of that mask, its origin, history, tradition, etc., would shed much light on the early history of this tribe of natives, who are among the most interesting in Liberia.

This "devil" was accompanied by a dozen or more women, who sang and made music with Sacha, dancing about and making many turns and twists of the body. These were dressed in glaring and variegated colors. Their fingers were covered with rings and their arms with bracelets and bangles. Some had hand-iron bands on their ankles; others shells, picked up on the seashore. The dance was not kept up very long before they asked for a "dash," after which they brought the performance to a close.

After they left a large bowl of "dumboy," hot with pepper, was served, followed by cakes and pies of different kinds. These, of course, were more palatable and inviting to the new-comers than the peppered soup which accompanied the "dumboy."

By this time the day was fast growing old, and our thoughts were gravitating homeward. When we were ready to leave the tide was well up, and we had no trouble in embarking. The day was most pleasantly and enjoyably spent. The joys and delights that this day brought will linger long in the chambers of memory, recalling scenes and sights which were helpful to both mind and body.

To Mr. T. W. Howard, the owner of this valuable farm, Mr. D. E. Howard, the genial superintendent of the Sunday school, the faithful and painstaking committee who entertained us, the many friends, boys and girls, ladies and gentlemen, who by their merry laughter and pleasant associations made the outing enjoyable, and President Coleman, in whose boat we went and returned, our sincere thanks are tendered.—
The New Africa.

JOURNALISM IN LIBERIA.—Journalism is being revived in Liberia. This is manifest from the fact that there are now four newspapers and one quarterly journal published in the Republic, viz., *The Recorder*, *The Liberia Official Bulletin*, and *The New Africa*, in Monrovia; *The Baptist Monitor*, at Ricks Institute, Kai Poo, and *The Cape Palmas Reporter*, at Harper, Cape Palmas.

The Baptist Monitor and *The New Africa* have recently entered upon their career. These five papers are none too many for the Republic of Liberia. They will, if properly conducted, become sources of light and power throughout the length and breadth of the Republic. Nor will their influence stop here; it must spread far and wide, reaching lands beyond the seas. But papers, however well they may be edited or managed, cannot thrive and accomplish the full purpose of their mission without being read and paid for. These are indispensable requisites to their longevity and success.

Therefore let every lover of intelligence, every individual who is truly interested in the dissemination of wholesome literature, patronize some one of these organs—all, if possible—in order that they may have continuity of life and not fall into the category of those whose existence was all too brief and short-lived.

Let the general interest now being aroused in Liberian journalism wake a sympathetic response in your heart. Manifest your interest, not by effusive and empty compliment, nor by troubling your neighbor by systematically borrowing his paper, but by becoming yourself an intelligent, regular reader, and, above all, a paid-up subscriber.—*The New Africa*.

THREE families of emigrants, consisting of nine persons, arrived in Monrovia Saturday, April 29. They were a part of the one hundred and four that left Zion City, Oklahoma, March 3, for Liberia.—*The New Africa*.

LIBERIA.—No later figures of trade than those given in the "Review of the World's Commerce" for last year are available. These covered the fiscal year 1896-1897 and were: Imports, \$505,235; exports, \$689,031. The minister resident and consul general at Monrovia, Mr. Owen L. W. Smith, in the following report says that trade with the United States is less than that with France or Holland. Germany has by far the largest share of the commerce, sending nearly two-thirds of the imports. England follows in importance. Coffee is the staple product, and has recently declined in value. The same may be said of ginger and cochineal. Rubber, a comparatively new industry, is assuming importance as an article of export. It is unfortunate, says Mr. Smith, that there is no direct steamship service between the United States and West African ports. The trade is almost entirely carried by English and German vessels. In Liberia especially there is a constant demand for American products, and merchants use every effort to obtain them.—*Commercial Relations of the United States, 1898*.

I SUBMIT my annual report of the statistics of the Republic of Liberia as well as I have been able to collect them. They are very inaccurate; yet they are as near perfect as can be obtained from the comptroller's office. He informs me that it is impossible to secure a full and accurate statistical report before the assembling of the legislature in December.

The imports and exports to and from the United States are less than those to and from Holland or France. They are even less than those to and from the United States for the same period of time prior to 1898, but this can be easily accounted for in part, first, when it is considered that an almost direct line of steamships'plies between Holland, France, and Liberia, while no steamships or sailing vessels enter Liberian waters from the United States; secondly, the war between the Golah tribe, in the interior of the Republic, and the Liberian government during the year has had a most serious and damaging effect upon the Liberian markets on the coast; thirdly, the recent war between the United States and Spain had the effect of driving every American vessel or merchantman from the coast of Liberia.

The imports of Liberia are valued at nearly \$3,000,000. The exports are far short of that amount.

Germany carries off the palm as an exporter, sending nearly two-thirds of all the goods imported here. England comes next in importance.

Coffee, the staple product of Liberia, has recently so declined in value as to cause Liberian merchants and farmers to refuse to sell, holding for an advance in prices. The same is true of ginger, cochineal, and other farm productions.

Rubber, which is an experiment in Liberia, is assuming importance in the export trade. Palm kernels, palm oil, and fiber, large quantities of which are shipped monthly to Liverpool and Hamburg, are now demanding the attention of the European merchant and manufacturer.

The commerce of West and South Africa is carried on almost entirely by English and German steamships, a Spanish steamer touching at Monrovia once every three months.

Messrs. Elder, Dempster & Co., of Liverpool, and the Woermann Steamship Company of Hamburg entered upon the coast trade under many disadvantages; yet by a careful application of business principles they have become rich, strong, and independent. The boats of one or the other of these companies touch here weekly, bringing the necessaries of life and transporting in return native products to European markets.

The principal merchants of Liberia, excepting a few German and Englishmen, are former citizens of the United States, and adhere to our customs, manners, and principles. They have many relatives and friends in the United States through whom they can greatly facilitate business transactions, and they are very anxious to open up a reliable and active market in our country. As an evidence of this, during the war between the United States and Spain I was frequently called upon to certify to invoices of consignments of native products to American merchants, not-

withstanding they had to be shipped by way of Liverpool or Hamburg and pay double freight rate. So great is the demand for American products or manufactures that the merchant is obliged to use every possible effort to procure them. Articles of food and clothing, such as bacon, lard, butter, corned beef, dried and canned fruits, besides boots and shoes (which challenge the world in neatness of style, beauty of appearance, and durability of material), are greatly admired and desired, both by the merchant and consumer.

It is greatly to be regretted that American steamship companies have been so neglectful of our interests in this continent.

The coast of Africa from Bathurst, at the mouth of the Gambia, and the capital of the British colony of Gambia, as far south as Cape Palmas; on the southern frontier of Liberia, is to a great extent inhabited by persons who were formerly citizens of the United States and who prefer the products and manufactures of that country.

A fortune awaits the American steamship company which will equip boats to ply direct between the United States and the coast of West Africa. In making this venture, I would not advise an excessive outlay at first. Possibly two good steamships, properly equipped for passenger, mail, and freight accommodations. The number could be increased with the trade. It is all-important that the company should exercise patience and be not too hasty in looking for returns. It should first lay such a foundation for permanency as will establish confidence in the minds of the people.

In connection with this venture, firms of wholesale and commission merchants will necessarily be established. These, in order to insure success in the coastwise trade, should be very discreet in all their dealings with their patrons, not neglecting to be prompt and honest in every transaction.

As the American merchant is well acquainted with the necessity of having traveling agents in order to advertise and introduce his goods, it is hardly necessary to say he will find it greatly to his advantage to have some intelligent and reliable person in each port, whose business it should be to solicit consignments, receive and deliver the goods transmitted, etc.

The eyes of the civilized and commercial world are turned toward the United States as never before, and the American merchant has an unprecedented opportunity to extend trade. Judging from personal observations since I have been on the coast, a healthy and profitable return awaits honest and patient endeavor on the West Coast of Africa.

THE NEW ANGLO-GERMAN AGREEMENT.—Although the text of the agreement which has just been signed between Great Britain and Germany is not yet published, the official statements which have been issued both in London and in Berlin enable us to arrive at a clear understanding of the political changes which the new agreement will effect. The importance of the new territorial arrangements is no doubt consid-

erable, but the new agreement is welcomed, both in this country and in Germany, mainly because it removes a number of actual or possible sources of misunderstanding between the two countries. It cannot be denied that the Samoan question has for some time past exercised an irritating influence on our relations with Germany. The tri-dominium which was established at the Berlin conference in 1889 could not by any possibility be regarded as a permanent solution, and the recent arrangement which was patched up by the commissioners of Great Britain, Germany, and the United States was obviously nothing but a makeshift. One or more of the three powers must obviously renounce its rights. Great Britain has done so, and has rightly and properly obtained solid compensation for her renunciation.

The compensation which Great Britain is to obtain for the renunciation of her rights in the Samoan Islands has been found partly in the Pacific and partly in Africa.

In Africa the compensation that we are to receive is twofold. In the first place, Germany undertakes to renounce her extraterritorial rights in Zanzibar as soon as other nations which possess the same rights agree to their abolition. The value of this concession may not appear great, but it is unquestionably a step in the right direction. Our position as the actual rulers of Zanzibar is considerably hampered by the existence of these rights of extraterritoriality, and any movement in the direction of their abolition is welcome.

It is on turning to the concessions made by Germany in West Africa that we are, perhaps, best able to appreciate the value attached by German sentiment to Samoa. Recent agreements between France and Great Britain and between France and Germany had left only one considerable patch of territory in West Africa as to which there was any dispute between European powers. This was the district to the north of the German colony of Togoland and of our own Gold Coast colony, commonly known as the "neutral zone." This zone, lying between the eighth and tenth parallels of latitude and stretching across the back countries of both colonies from 0° 49' E. to 1° 30' W., was brought into existence by an Anglo-German agreement signed in March, 1888. Under that arrangement it was agreed to regard the territories lying within this sphere as neutral ground, and to abstain from seeking to acquire within them protectorates or exclusive influence. Within this neutral zone there are situated two of the most important trade centers of the West African interior—Salaga and Yendi—and both Great Britain and Germany were naturally anxious to obtain control of these important towns, so as to direct the trade toward their own parts. In the stress of the scramble for the territories lying within the Niger bend the neutrality of this zone was not always observed by either party to the agreement. It is fortunately unnecessary to inquire which was the first to violate the neutrality. In any case the arrangement was of an essentially temporary character, and a final delimitation of the spheres of influence of the two countries was only a matter of time and opportunity.

The definite partition of the zone has been more than once the subject of discussion between the governments of Great Britain and Germany. The substance of the proposals has always been that Salaga should be British, and Yendi, which lies on the other side of the Daka river, should be German. Germany has, however, been understood in previous negotiations to have made claims upon the more northerly province of Mamprusi, to which it was impossible for Great Britain to accede. Further, the price always asked by Germany in return for the partitions on these lines of the neutral zone has been the cession to Germany of the bit of the Gold Coast colony known as the Trans-Volta district, which lies between the Volta and the existing boundary of Togoland. This district, which has been in possession of Great Britain for nearly fifty years, which has an area of about 2,000 square miles and numbers a population of 600,000 persons, is relatively to its size the most valuable part of the Gold Coast colony. It registers in its ports a third of the tonnage and contributes about half the revenue. It was evidently out of the question that the cession of this territory could be agreed to. It is therefore in a high degree satisfactory that a partition which gives to Great Britain the trade center of Salaga and the entire province of Mamprusi should have been carried out without further insistence upon an impossible condition.

The line of partition—which is shown upon the map—starts from the junction of the Daka with the Volta river, and after following the course of the Daka river for a certain distance in a northeasterly direction, is then to be drawn due north, lying nearly upon the meridian of Greenwich, till it reaches the parallel of $10^{\circ} 30'$, and is again deflected in a northeasterly direction, separating the provinces of Mamprusi and Chakosi. Mamprusi, with the important trade center of Gambaga for its capital, goes to Great Britain. Chakosi, of which Sansanne Mango is the capital, will be German. These territories lie outside the definite northern boundary of the neutral zone and carry the partition of the English and German spheres to the French border. Within the zone the line divides the province of Degomba, leaving the town of Yendi to Germany and giving Salaga to Great Britain. The trade road from Salaga to Gambaga also falls within British territory, while on the eastern side of the line an equally good trade road, passing via Bimbla and Yendi to Sansanne Mango, is reserved to Germany.

The net result of the new agreement is to extend the hinterland of the Gold Coast colony up to about the 11th parallel, and to open a large area of country to British trade. Salaga has frequently been visited by Europeans, and has suffered many vicissitudes. In 1884 a missionary described it as having dwindled down to a population of 5,000 souls, and ten years later Dr. Gruner found that it had still further fallen away from its former estate. In 1888 the distinguished French explorer, Captain Binger, visited Salaga, and gave much interesting information concerning its very mixed inhabitants and its trade. He estimated the population then at only 3,000, of which the Hausa formed one-tenth. The commercial impor-

tance of the place is not what it was some 40 years ago, though there is still a very considerable trade. Still, from its central position, it is capable of becoming an important entrepot between north and south, although Captain Binger regards its situation as most unhealthy. It is highly probable that with peace and a settled administration Salaga may quickly revive some portion, at least, of its ancient glories. Yendi, which goes to Germany, is described as rich in cattle and fairly well peopled. From the point of view of superficial area, Great Britain has acquired much the larger half of the neutral zone, but it is impossible, until our knowledge of this part of Africa is more accurate and detailed than it yet is, to say what is the commercial value of the country. There can be no doubt that the net result of the division will be to enhance the value of Togoland to Germany and of the Gold Coast to Great Britain.

The whole of West Africa is now partitioned out among the great powers of Europe who have taken part in the scramble. The agreement which has just been signed marks the close of one era and the beginning of another. Hitherto the powers have devoted their energies mainly to the acquisition of new territory. There is now no more territory to acquire, and the way is open for developing the resources of the vast areas which they have marked out on the map as belonging to them. Property in Africa, as in Ireland, has its duties as well as its rights, and henceforward it is to be hoped that the only rivalry between the powers interested in West Africa will be as to which will turn to most profitable account the territories assigned to them by international agreement.—*London Times*.

THE MALARIA EXPEDITION.—Dr. R. Fielding-Ould, one of the members of the expedition which some months ago left Liverpool for Sierra Leone to investigate the conditions of tropical disease on the West Coast of Africa, on the return of the expedition continued his investigations in other parts of West Africa, and notably at Accra and Lagos.

The result of these further inquiries is to confirm in a remarkable manner the conclusions arrived at by Major Ross in Sierra Leone, and to establish the fact that the conditions under which malaria arises are practically uniform.

Dr. Fielding-Ould, who has just returned to Liverpool, told a representative of the *Daily Post*, in a conversation on the subject, that Sierra Leone, Accra, and Lagos were selected as places presenting considerable geographical diversity, not only as regards situation, but as regards climate, particularly rainfall.

"Sierra Leone," said the Doctor, "consists of volcanic rock, the depressions and interstices of which favor the formation of swampy deposits. The average rainfall is 250 inches per annum. Accra is situate on dry, sandy soil, the rainfall being not more than 20 inches a year. Lagos, I need hardly mention, is built on an island, itself nothing more than a mangrove swamp, formed by the accumulation of decayed vegetation

and sand on the top of low reefs. The highest part of it is not more than 19 feet above the lagoon. The lowest parts, however, are below the sea level, and, of course, drainage is impossible. The annual rainfall at Lagos averages 70 inches.

"The conditions under which we found malaria to exist in Sierra Leone have already been described to you by Major Ross. At Accra I found that no specimen of the malaria-bearing (anopheles) mosquito had been seen for two months, and there had been no fresh cases of malaria infection for, at any rate, two months and a half. I may mention that Accra has a bad name on account of malaria, but that arises from cases being brought down from the interior. In the hinterland, between Accra and Coomassie, are all the conditions which favor the disease.

"Lagos it is not possible to regard as anything but a hotbed of infection. The town, which contains a population of from 150 to 200 Europeans and at least 75,000 natives, covers the greater part of the island. The immense quantities of decaying vegetable matter in the puddle surrounding it give off volumes of sulphuretted hydrogen, the pungent odor of which is well known, and this is perpetually wafted through the town by the hot tropical winds. At Lagos the anopheles (mosquito) swarms in countless thousands. The insect is everywhere—in the huts and houses, the governor's residence, and the hospital. Malaria is consequently prevalent."

"What are your views as to the results of the expedition?"

"The expedition has added immensely to our knowledge of the nature of malaria and the conditions under which it arises. At the same time, I do not think that is the conclusion of the matter. On the coast everything is put down to malaria; but there may be forms of fever—I believe there probably are—which we have not yet discovered. However, there can be no doubt that this action on the part of the Liverpool School of Tropical Diseases has had an extraordinarily good effect. Malaria is a disease which can only be diagnosed by microscopical examination. Until our expedition went out they had no microscopes, or did not use them. In fact, the climate is unfavorable to delicate philosophical instruments. However, laboratories fitted with microscopical appliances have now been established at both Lagos and Accra, and a great advance made in the scientific treatment of disease on the spot."

"Major Ross expressed the opinion that malaria could be practically banished from West Coast settlements at a comparatively moderate cost. Do you think so, too?"

"In that respect Major Ross is rather more optimistic than I am. What he stated applies pretty well to Kingstown and Sierra Leone, perhaps, but not to other West Coast colonies. My plan would be to locate Europeans in the healthy places."

"It seems to be generally conceded that healthier conditions will greatly benefit West Africa commercially?"

"No doubt about it. We do not as yet quite appreciate the value of

our West African possessions. The Congo State is paying the Belgians most handsomely. I hear, in fact, on very good authority, that the King of the Belgians has made an enormous private fortune out of it—some fifteen millions—though I would not vouch for the figures. The Niger ought to be as valuable as the Congo. On the Gold Coast the rich gold deposits and the virgin forests of valuable timber are untouched, just because the country wants developing. There is no doubt there will be a big boom in West African trade in the next few years, and Liverpool ought to get the largest share of it. I do not think Sierra Leone will ever be very valuable, except, perhaps, for rubber. Its development will take a long time, and it will not be worth a great deal at the finish; but we have got hold of really the most valuable parts of West Africa, and medical science should do a lot to make it fairly safe for Europeans.”—*Liverpool Daily Post*.

PRAYER FOR THE WAR IN SOUTH AFRICA BY THE MOHAMMEDANS IN SIERRA LEONE.—Alimami Gheirawani, of Fourah Bay, having forwarded a request from the Mussulmans of the colony for permission to use the government-house grounds for the purpose of offering prayers for success to the British arms in the war in South Africa, His Excellency kindly placed the lawn at government-house at their use.

At 2 p. m. on Monday, the 5th instant, a large and representative number of Mussulmans in the colony assembled on the lawn and offered up their prayers.

At the conclusion of the service of prayer His Excellency the Governor and Lady Cardew, accompanied by Captain Ibbetson, the A. D. C., and Hon. T. F. Meagher, acting colonial secretary, went and met the Mussulmans on the lawn, and His Excellency addressed them as follows:

“Alimami Gheirawani and Muslims of Sierra Leone: It has afforded me the greatest pleasure to accede to your loyal request to use the grounds of government-house for the purpose of assembling to offer up your prayers to God to give victory to British arms in the struggle which is now going on in South Africa.

“This struggle is, perhaps, the most momentous in the annals of the British Empire. Its issues involve not only the existence of that empire, but the question of the liberties and rights of the black races, not only in South Africa, but possibly throughout the length and breadth of the whole of that continent.

“Victory to the British arms would mean freedom from the curse of slavery to the black races in South Africa, for you well know Great Britain has during the last hundred years championed the cause of freedom for all races, and this is her settled policy wherever her dominions extend.

“In humble dependence on God, I have no doubt as to the issue of this struggle; no doubt that the British arms will be victorious, and that the cause of liberty and justice for all races will triumph, and the fact that

you have been moved to assemble yourselves this day to pray to God for success to the British arms is another confirmation of my conviction that our empire will emerge victorious from this struggle.

“This war has done more to cement and bind the empire together and bring about its unity than any other event since its creation. The peoples of every race and creed within the empire have without exception come forward to help in that object.

“Of the 200 millions of Mohammedans in the world, nearly, if not quite, half that number are members of the British Empire and subjects of our Queen, and they are showing the same loyalty as yourselves to Queen and empire. Only the other day the Mohammedans of Cape Town assembled in prayer to God to give victory to our arms, and offered to fight for the cause, and the Nizam of Hyderabad, the most important Mohammedan prince in India, declared that ‘the proudest title he possessed was that of Her Majesty’s faithful ally—his purse, his army, and his sword were ever ready to defend Her Majesty’s empire.’

“Every colony is sending forth men to fight for the cause of Great Britain, and in India, besides the Mohammedans the great Hindu chiefs have offered their help on an equally generous scale as the Nizam of Hyderabad. In fact, every native chief in India has offered to send horses to South Africa. Here in Sierra Leone the people are equally loyal—Christians as well as Mohammedans are praying for the cause and generally contributing their money to it.

“It will, I am sure, be peculiarly gratifying to Her Majesty when she hears that all her faithful subjects have been praying for the cause of her empire, and I feel sure your loyal act will give great comfort and solace to Her Majesty at this time of her anxiety and sorrow for the many brave soldiers who have fallen and for their widows and orphans.

“In her name I thank you most cordially and heartily for your loyalty and sympathy for her cause, and I fervently trust that God will answer your prayers.”

On the conclusion of His Excellency’s address, Alimami Gheirawani replied as follows:

“Your Excellency: I am directed to express to you the pleasure it gives the Mussulmans of the colony to again welcome your return amongst them; to express their gratefulness for your kindness in receiving them this day, and trust that you will inform our Queen-Empress, should the need arise, of their readiness to place themselves at your disposal in her service.”

His Excellency then rose and thanked the Mussulmans for this loyal offer of their service and assured them that it will give him the greatest pleasure to communicate to the Right Honorable the Secretary of State for presentation to Her Majesty the Queen-Empress, who no doubt will be much pleased for this expression of loyal devotion to her throne from her Mohammedan subjects in Sierra Leone.—*Sierra Leone Weekly News*.

THE NEGRO AND EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION.—The effect which European civilization is calculated to produce upon the Negro in Africa as an ultimate result is a subject which calls for serious consideration on the part of those upon whom this effect must operate for good or ill. The Negro is noted for the facility with which he adapts himself to civilized modes and habits of life; but the most essential point of the matter rests upon the question as to whether this ready adaptation to foreign habits and methods is congenial or otherwise to a healthful advancement. In order to determine in any degree the effect which European civilization is likely to produce upon the Negro in Africa, we must needs examine the results, in so far as they have become apparent, of the contact by the Negro in Africa with this foreign civilization. There is generally a tendency to deprecate such a test by results, on the plea that the influence of such civilization has not been of sufficient force and duration to justify a fair estimate of its ultimate effect being deduced from results so far. Admitting that the points at which contact with foreign civilization in Africa have taken place have been limited, yet there is also the other fact that at some of these points this civilized influence has been in operation for over a hundred years, and, what is more, has been reinforced by a considerable element of Negroes from a civilized environment and to which they had become affiliated in foreign countries. Starting under such auspices, therefore, and having been in operation for a period which has seen Australia develop from a wild forest-covered region into a great civilized community, it is reasonable to expect some definite indication of the ultimate effect of civilization upon the Negro in Africa from the results at those points at which he has been brought into contact with it.

A close and careful retrospective review at these points reveals an effect which is at once distressingly untoward and alarming. The fact stands out in bold and unequivocal relief that at the points where the contact with this foreign civilization has been strongest, in more or less all cases where individuals or families have placed themselves in close assimilation with it the effect has been in the line of degeneracy or extinction. It is almost impossible to find instances where families who fifty or sixty years ago occupied a degree of prominence, and who by education and mode of life had induced their children to assimilate more to civilized methods and manners, to find these children maintaining the prominence to which their fathers had reached, while, on the other hand, scores of families who many years ago were the prominent and leading element of the civilized centers have all disappeared and only exist in the memories of those who knew them. There are, of course, exceptions, but these exceptions can all be summed up on the fingers of one hand, and only serve to prove the verity of the rule. This alarming fact demands the most serious consideration, and it is with the purpose of impressing it upon our readers that we advert to it, and in order also that a halt may be called and counsel taken upon this too eager rush after civilized manners and methods, which, in so far as experience shows,

threatens to extinguish us as a race.. The overwhelming evidence which time supplies in our immediate surroundings makes it unnecessary to advert to a circumstance well known in the history of West Africa—that several centuries ago an elaborate civilizing and Christianizing scheme was started by the Catholics on the Kongo, and which operated for nearly a hundred years, but of which not a vestige remains at the present day, proving conclusively that the application of European habits and manners to African life is impracticable either for the purpose of civilizing or Christianizing. The cause of and remedy for this untoward effect of civilization lie in a study of the economical conditions of our climate and the adaptation of civilized usages to those conditions.

Nature has been most precise and economical in regulating its operations for the generation, nutrition, and preservation of animals or plants, and these operations are made adaptable to the vicissitudes of climate; and by an instinctive intuition man acquires a knowledge of these laws of nature and adapts himself to them in their diverse forms in different climates, and any attempt to ignore these laws by an unmodified introduction of the usages and habits of one clime into another must necessarily be pernicious in its effects. The preservation of life should be the first and foremost object and primary consideration with every people, and no habits and methods, no matter how tempting and commendable, should be permitted to interpose between this primary consideration of existence, and which if once ignored means death and extinction. The argument which points to the adaptability of the Negro to civilized habits and customs in foreign civilized environments only serves to corroborate the fact that man, to preserve himself and survive, must conform to the economic conditions of the localities in which he finds himself, but it does not imply that the latter can be in any degree altered or changed to suit the most advanced notions.

It is also well to point out that the social organizations or conditions of civilized life to which we aspire are the outcome of a long and normal process of industrial development, with its corollaries of moral and mental growth, and by which latter they are sustained; but in the case of the Negro in Africa the imitative social superstructure which he endeavors to erect is unsupported by these foundation principles, and as a result the effort is not only abortive, but pernicious in its effects. Summarized in a nutshell, we endeavor to create a condition in which the intellect alone is to serve to earn a livelihood, entirely forgetful of the physical development which gives scope for the energies of the mind. There can be no denying the fact that from every point of view the predicament in which the civilized Negro in Africa is placed is by no means congenial to his well being, and the only way out of the dilemma is first and foremost to preserve our existence by a modification of our habits and methods of life to a form compatible with the economical conditions of our surroundings, in obedience to the inflexible law of nature. Then, in obedience also to an inflexible law of natural growth, we should take the lower

plane of development and become properly instructed on its lines within the confines of our mental, moral, and industrial capacities until we become fitted to take another plane. Unwelcome as the fact may be, any enforced tutelage which aims to thrust the Negro in Africa upon a plane other than that which his industrial and moral capacities fit him, can only end in failure and disappointment. The highest intellectual development and social organism are correlative with the widest and longest culture, and until the Negro has had the benefit of this ample and thorough training, all his aspirations in the direction of the former are unwise and ill-directed.—*The Lagos Weekly Record*.

THE AFRICAN IN AMERICA.—Events are every day establishing the truth that the future civilization and welfare of the African in Africa depend largely upon the African in America. The deportation of the latter to the western hemisphere was not an end, but a means, and all the conditions and problems on this side of the water point for their solution to the facts and circumstances which have transpired in connection with this race since Columbus set sail on his voyage of discovery, and have relation to the conditions and problems on that side of the water.

The African in his original home—at least that portion of Ham's descendants represented on the western continent—has, through the ages, done nothing to give him a place among the productive agencies of the world, and left to himself, as but for his deportation he must have been left in large portions of his country, owing to climatic conditions, he would have continued to do nothing. The climate discourages exertion. There is always an inclination to rest, a desire for repose; and so the people, with no stimulus from without, would have sat and rested forever, subsisting on the spontaneous and perennial productions of the soil. Indeed, one of the complimentary salutations of the great Yoruba tribe, heard at all hours of the day, is, "Oku joko" (I congratulate you on sitting down).

"Sedet æternumque sedebit."

And this accounts for the universality and perpetuity of slavery on this continent—the stronger elements compelling the weaker to work. The trans-Atlantic slave trade of modern times, as the Egyptian slave trade of ancient times, furnished the opportunity of getting rid of the troublesome elements, whose invincible idleness and criminal proclivities made them a burden and a terror to the directors and controllers of labor. Sometimes, however, men of high character and position were sent out of the country—chiefs, princes, merchants captured in wars waged often for territorial enlargement and often for more ignoble purposes.

The slave trade was the means of saving millions of lives that would have perished under the inexorable pressure of the cruel conditions of savage existence. The horrors of the "middle passage" were nothing

in comparison to the horrors which would have been experienced at home by the unfortunate captives. The hold of the slave ship was often a refreshing relief from the persecutions of irresponsible despots. Through their deportation more than 80 per cent. were saved alive who would have disappeared amid tortures and contumely in the wilds of the continent, leaving not a trace behind—of less influence upon the destinies of mankind than the elephants which would have fallen with them in the jungle by the hand of the hunter.

The more fortunate ones were carried safely across the sea, where not only the *cælum*, but the *animus*, was changed. Their history began to be a human history, and they began to take part as men, though men under restraint and stimulus, in the work of human progress. They wept during the watery transit. Many perished under the wretched conditions. Those who survived wept when they landed on American shores. They wept because they believed they would no more see the faces of their relatives and friends and enjoy again the charming and seductive hospitality of their wooded landscapes. They knew that they stood at the tomb of the past, but they could not realize that they stood also at the cradle of the future.

The transition was a wonderful one. They were brought from a condition of quiescent and stagnant barbarism to a country where they found life and movement and vigilance, where progress was possible. They entered a mild zone, between the frosts of the North and the heat and glare of the equator. They found themselves in a nursery of health and energy and long life, where their numbers could multiply; where the face of the earth yields to the hands of industry bread to the full; where the skies, the hills and vales, the lakes and the streams, and all the blind forces of nature, as contemplated under intelligent direction, wake the life of the soul.

They came also under spiritual influences and began to understand that man has a soul as well as a body, to know something of their relations to a Supreme Being, and of their moral responsibilities. They seized upon the new views presented to them. The religion taught them by their masters was adapted to them, met all their emotional necessities, satisfied all their longings, and inspired them with "songs in the night."

Christianity was peculiarly adapted to the African in the house of his bondage. He was taught to worship a God who had come to the earth in the likeness of man and in the form of a slave, despised and rejected of men, and had suffered and died, the innocent for the guilty. He took this God to himself. The name of Jesus, after the slaves had learned it, was ever on their lips and in their songs. They approached Him, talked of Him, sang of Him with a familiarity, a confidence, a joy, and a fullness of appropriation which astonished their masters. The most popular of their refrains, exulting or sorrowing, had Jesus as subject and object.

"Nobody knows the trouble I see, Lord,
Nobody knows but Jesus."

In him they had a solution of their sorrows. They took their places, then, not in submissive despair or spirit-broken acquiescence, but cheerfully, as servants of God and followers of Jesus, they fulfilled their tasks—wards of masters, many of whom, under the same Christian teaching, believed that God had made of one blood all the races of men, and treated their slaves as friends and relatives.

The slave also had something to give. He taught his master the use and culture of many tropical productions. He became an indispensable part of the household. He furnished from among his women nurses for his master's children. Many a great Southerner was in infancy dandled on African knees. Africa fulfilled the proverbial description of "*arida nutrix leonum*." And this service has been fully and freely recognized in touching eloquence by many a distinguished Southerner.

It was from among slaves brought up under the system described above that the early settlers of Liberia came. From the house of bondage came these pilgrim fathers of the new Republic, founders of America in Africa; of no literary attainments, but good farmers, good blacksmiths, good carpenters, good masons—in short, proficient in most of the ordinary branches of useful industry and of good common sense; men set free, for the most part, by generous masters, who believed in the capacity of their protégés to build up a civilized community among their own people in Africa. They believed this because they knew that, as a rule, skilled laborers are not without the intelligence, energy, and persistence necessary to independent effort. They recognized that the power to master a difficult mechanical art is a proof of the existence of intellectual and moral qualities which would overcome the difficulties likely to confront them in a new country.

And their hopes were not disappointed. These ex-slaves have built up a Christian commonwealth in West Africa which, had it received more active guidance and support from the State and Federal Governments, would now present to the world an aggressive agency in behalf of civilization and Christianity in West and Central Africa which no European colony presents; but it has been in great measure left to itself by the United States Government; yet in spite of these drawbacks no European colony on the coast has today its capacity and possibilities.

To those who have lived any time in West Africa three things are indisputably clear: First, that it was absolutely necessary that large numbers of the people should be taken into exile for discipline and training under a more advanced race; second, that they should be kept separate from the dominant race; third, that chosen spirits from among the exiles should in course of time return and settle among their brethren in the fatherland to guide them into the path of civilization.

It is not necessary that all should come. It is not possible for all to return. It is hardly more than a romantic dream to suppose that by any methods at present known to us the whole of the Negro population of the United States could be transferred to Africa. Two hundred ship-

loads for transport every year would find it difficult to bring away the increase only, leaving the eight millions intact. Moreover, it would be the greatest possible cruelty to Liberia or any other portion of Africa and to the emigrants themselves, under present circumstances, or possibly under any circumstances, to transport to this country every year even one-half of the annual increase.

According to the Census Bulletin No. 48, the colored population increased from 1880 to 1890 856,800, or 85,680 a year. If the United States government should send out 40,000 emigrants to Liberia at one time, most of them would perish, and probably involve the Republic in their destruction, unless the treasury of that government were nearly exhausted for their proper settlement, control, and supply for a given period; and even then such an experiment would be fraught with peril.

But, as I said at the outset, the future destiny of this continent is intimately associated with the Negro population of the United States. "America," said the lamented Bishop Haygood, "is under bonds to the Dark Continent." "The African," says Bishop J. H. Vincent, "will never leave America and become an African, but Africans may go home to Africa and Americanize, in a good, true sense, the Dark Continent."

The American Colonization Society, which has done so noble a work in the past, and of whose labors the Republic of Liberia is one of the most interesting monuments, is not now able to do much—hardly anything. It still exists, however, with headquarters in Washington, organized ready for work if its services should again be called into requisition. It holds the fort.—*Edward W. Blyden.*

LIBERIA mourns the recent loss of two most valuable and widely known citizens. Vice-President J. J. Ross died October 24, 1899, and the Rev. June Moore, for many years largely and successfully engaged in commercial enterprises, died December 24, 1899.

SINS OF THE NEGRO—THE RACE LOSING ITS GRIP ON THE LARGE, PHILANTHROPIC HEART OF THE NORTH.—The Negro scribe who will write the plain, unsympathetic truth concerning the sins of the race, especially in these days of flattery and falsehood, is apt to engender the displeasure of many of the so-called leaders of the race; but some one must tell the truth about our laxity, our licentiousness, or vacillating habits; some one must point out the danger signals along our already rough pathway in this life. Integrity is the mainspring of self-respect, the basic principle of all moral character; and this is one of the great principles needed by the race; the want of it forms a sin within itself.

No less an important element in human nature is courage; courage to live what you honestly believe; courage to say what you truly know; courage to tell the truth, whatever the result. By courage is meant not only that valor which asserts itself in the presence of danger, nor that

fortitude which enables us to suffer and endure, nor that resoluteness which falters not at difficulties, nor yet that heroism which despises danger and overrides what, to the more discreet and timid, may seem insurmountable barriers, but rather that rarest of all virtues among men, that moral courage which prompts the upright man to make sacrifices, to accept defeat, to undergo humiliation, and even public censure if necessary, in obedience to the dictates of conscience and the discharge of his whole duty to the race and to humanity. The want of this kind of courage forms another great sin of which the leaders of the race at the North are guilty.

Will Allen Dromgool is the author of an interesting story entitled "De Sins ob de White Man," in which one of her characters, an old-time Negro preacher, promulgates the following: "Brudders en sisters, ders a heap o' kind o' sins in dis worl', en I ain't denyin' az de nigger hab got his sheer. But it am his sheer en he ain't behol'n to nobody to up an' tek dey sheer, let 'lone de sins of de white man.

"Dey's two kin' ob sins, de sins ob de nigger en de sins ob de white man; en I make de p'int dat de nigger he got his own sins. en he ain't got no mo'. But de white man he got to tote double, ca'se de Book say, dem what hab got, hab got to hab mo'. En de white man he hab got his own sins en de sins ob de nigger, too; en dats hoccome I sey he got to tote double."

This is the manner in which the author presents the "White Man's Burden" idea. The fact of the matter is that the Negro must "tote double." He must be more circumspect in public places; he must subdue his good-natured laugh to a soft grin; he must lift his hat within five feet of the main entrance; he must do many things not required nor expected of the white man. The fact that he does these things constitutes another sin. We are all citizens of one country and we ought to have rights in common, and we are sinners if we will put up with anything but what belongs to us as members of a common family.

And this leads me to observe that the social evolution which has been in operation for the past twenty-five years in the New England States has resulted in some very peculiar manifestations in the character of the Negro. After having heard the problems of life so well debated from every viewpoint, he has been mysteriously led into a realm where his judgment is in an unsettled condition, his individuality two-sided and perplexing. His present life in the Northern States is not prophetic of a worthy future, and so he has abandoned himself to a sort of self-indulgence and an exaggerated individualism that is puzzling in the extreme. Many occupy a paradoxical position in the social realm; they are ashamed of their own race and will not, except forced to by extreme necessity, associate with it. They cannot associate with the highly cultured and influential white people, except in very rare cases, so they are compelled to live entirely to themselves. Their social life is not what a live, vivacious, warm-blooded people would desire; so the question arises, What

will be the penalty for this great sin, the sin of trying to get away from the race, trying to get away from yourself? The Negro's influence as exerted in political affairs is baneful and corrupt in every important city in the New England States. The character of the ward politician is something awful. All worthy examples of industry, skill and integrity, morality and culture are selected from the white race, and no book published at the North by a Negro born in the North and there educated has ever attracted any considerable attention, save that of our great poet, Paul Lawrence Dunbar. Few Negroes have been mentioned in the notable public addresses of distinguished men, and the lives of but few Negroes have proven worthy of emulation, so far as the Northern Negro is concerned. The noblest and best specimens of the race have come up from slavery through great misfortunes and overwhelming injustice. They have proven themselves superior to their conditions and have succeeded in spite of them.

Again, most of the younger element of the race who have attained success in business or a profession are too often inclined to that sort of conduct and habit which a strict Christian education forbids—their faces, the true mirror of the soul, reflect the workings of a mind little given to lofty thoughts; they do not portray candor, truthfulness, and human kindness. The health color of sobriety and virtue is largely displaced by puffed faces, revealing a life of dissipation and vile indulgences. Where we should expect the kindly ennobling features, beaming with intellectual force, we often find the coarse, vulgar, and sinister countenance.

These facts are unpleasant to think about, but they are the facts. In the North the Negro preacher's influence is limited to a few personal friends who have implicit confidence in his integrity of character. The lawyer is regarded as a mere shyster. The workman is not to be trusted to carry out an order unwatched. The small store-keeper cannot secure credit, and even the more pretentious merchant must have a white voucher. Of course, there are a few exceptions to this rule, but my long and continued residence in the North has convinced me that all I have said is true. There are too many young Negroes who, in their vain attempt to ape the "sporty" young Harvard or Yale student, spend all the money they make on clothing and drink.

At the risk of becoming unpopular, I have stated some of the sins of the Negro. I would welcome personal letters from those who think I have overstated the situation. The large philanthropic heart of the North is being hardened against the Negro, and the full, generous purse of the North is being locked up, so far as the Negro is concerned, all on account of his sins at the North. Take Boston, for example. Many attempts have been made in that great city to run a weekly newspaper in the interest of the race, and not one has ever succeeded. During the political strife the Negro journal is able to get enough money to pay a few of the back bills; but the Negro journal of Boston has never paid enough to keep up a family of two persons. It is lamentable; it is awful.—*Charles Alexander in The Freeman.*